BENGAL UNDER THE MUHAMMADANS.

BRIEF NOTES ON ITS GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY.

BY
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Indian Civil Service.

V. A. Smith
with the author's compliments
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Carpenter

BRIEF NOTES ON THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BENGAL UNDER THE MUHAMMADANS.

Of the history and antiquities of Gaur and Pandua a good deal may be found in various books, journals, and proceedings, some of which are enumerated below.* These are not all easily procurable, and even if they were, the information is scattered and sometimes contradictory. In these circumstances, it seems that it might be useful and interesting to set in order a few notes as to these ancient cities themselves, the history of the sultans who ruled Bengal from them for nearly four centuries, and the geography of the country over which they reigned.

The history of Muhammadan Bengal has been laboriously built up from inscriptions on coins and on walls and tablets, confirming and amplifying incidental references made by contemporary writers, whose main business was to chronicle the events of Muhammadan administration at Delhi and in Upper and Western India. Later, at the end of the eighteenth century, a learned Muhammadan writer, at the suggestion of an English official—Mr. George Udney of Malda—compiled in 1787-88 a history of Bengal in Persian, called the *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, or "Garden of Kings," which is the only definite history of Bengal known by a native historian. Professor Blochmann in 1873 and again in 1875 collated in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* all that was then known of the geography and history of Bengal in the Muhammadan period, and it is from that monument of industry and storehouse of learning that I have drawn chiefly the facts in the following paragraphs. But before we study the history of Bengal, it is necessary to go back a little.

India was first invaded by the Muhammadans under Mahmud of Ghazni in the year 1001, corresponding to 391 of the Hijra era. From that time onward their attacks were constantly repeated, and their lodgment in the country became more and more secure until at last the great

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* *The Ruins of Gaur*, compiled from the manuscripts and drawings of H. Creighton, Esq., London: Black, Parbury and Allen, 1817.

A History of Bengal, by C. Stewart, London, 1813.

Eastern India, by Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, London, 1838.

Gaur: its Ruins and Inscriptions, by J. H. Ravenshaw, I.C.S., London: Kegan Paul and Company, 1878.

A Statistical Account of Bengal, by Sir W. W. Hunter, 1876, Volume VII.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, passim, and especially the following:—

(*a*) Thomas's *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, 1867 and 1873.

(*b*) Blochmann's *Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal*, 1873 and 1875.

History of Eastern Architecture, by Fergusson.

Shahabuddin, of the House of Ghor, laid broad and deep the foundations of the Muhammadan Empire, which has lasted until our time. Between the years 1176 and 1206 he broke up all the Hindu kingdoms of Upper India and established his sway over the whole of Hindustan Proper, except Malwa. When he died in 1206, leaving no son, his kingdom at once dissolved into a group of independent states, each under its own sultan, who had in most cases been formerly its governor under the deceased Emperor. In this disintegration three of the greatest provinces of the Empire fell to men who had at first been Turki slaves of the Emperor. Of these, Qutbuddin Eibak was at Delhi, Eldoz at Ghazni, and Nasiruddin Kubacha in Multan and Sind. Qutbuddin, the builder of the Qutb Minar at Delhi, had been for twenty years Shahabuddin's Governor of India, but in his independent position he only survived his master four years and died in 1210. He was succeeded (1211) by his son-in-law, Shamsuddin Altamsh, another Turki slave, who built the splendid arches which adorn the mosque near the Qutb Minar, and completed the minaret itself. From this time forward for 178 years, until the House of Khilji obtained the supremacy in 1288, the throne of Delhi was filled by a succession of slave kings, of whom the most capable and efficient were Shamsuddin Altamsh himself (1210—1235) and Ghiyasuddin Balban (1265—1286).

Meanwhile, in 1202, four years before the death of Shahabuddin, one of Qutbuddin's generals, Bakhtiar Khilji, had penetrated into Bengal, and had, almost without opposition, overcome Ballala Sen, the Hindu king of Nadiya, who then reigned at Lakhnauti or Gaur. He was confirmed in this province as Governor by the Emperor, and from this time the history of Bengal begins to take definite shape. It is conveniently divided into five distinct periods, which are as follows:—

(*i*) The initial period (1203 to 1338), during which Bengal was governed on behalf of the Delhi sovereigns by officers appointed by them: of these, there were twenty-five.

(*ii*) The period of independence (1338 to 1538), during which twenty-four sultans ruled at Gaur and Pandua.

(*iii*) The period of the Afghan supremacy (1538 to 1576), commencing with the conquest of Bengal by Sher Shah.

(*iv*) The Moghul period (1576 to 1740), from the conquest of Bengal by Akbar's general, Manim Khan, to the accession of Ali Verdi Khan as Nawab Nazim.

(*v*) The Nawabi period (1740 to 1765), from the accession of Ali Verdi Khan to the grant of the Dewani to the British.

Gaur and Pandua flourished only during the first three of these periods, for immediately after the conquest of Gaur by the Imperial troops in 1576, it was devastated and depopulated by a frightful pestilence, the memory of which is believed to have prevented the repopulation of the city for many years till the progress of decay and the growth of a tropical vegetation completed the work.

PART I.

Geographical.

Before passing on, however, to examine the history of these great cities under the rulers of Muhammadan Bengal and of the men who dwelt in them, it will be as well to try and obtain some idea of what that province was, what were its divisions, and what its limits and extent.

The historians of the Empire, naturally enough, say little about the geography of so distant a dependency as Bengal; and, as explained above, most of our information is derived from incidental notices, from mural inscriptions, and from the names of the mint cities on the coins of the various kings.* These are ten in number, viz., Lakhnauti (or Gaur), Firozabad (Pandua), Satgaon (near Hooghly), Shahr-i-nau, Ghyaspur, Sunnargaon (near Dacca), Muazzamabad (Silhet), Fathbad (Faridpur), Khalifatabad (Bagerhat), and Husainabad.

From the middle of the sixteenth century we have further the works and maps of Portuguese historians, and of Ralph Fitch, the Englishman, and in 1594 (1002 A.H.) the Persian traveller, Amin Razi, an uncle of the famous Nur Jahan, composed his *Haft Iqlim*, or *Gazetteer of Hindustan*, which contains some account of Bengal as a province of the Empire.

It seems likely that, with the exception of changes on the borders, which will be referred to below in greater detail, the area and limits of Bengal remained without material alteration during the whole of the period with which we have to do, *i.e.*, from the beginning of the thirteenth till towards the end of the sixteenth century, at which time they were duly recorded in the annals of the Mughal Empire.

In 1582 the province of Bengal was brought under assessment by Raja Todar Mull, Akbar's Hindu Finance Minister, the first and greatest settlement officer that India has ever known. It is almost certain that he recorded in his settlement what he found in existence both as regards divisions and revenue, but Bengal was not finally subjugated till the reign of Jehangir, and was assessed in detail by Prince Shuja a short time before 1658. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, which contains the particulars of Todar Mull's

* Note.—A list of some of the places where mural inscriptions have been found is given in an appendix.

settlement, we find that Bengal was divided into nineteen sirkars or districts and 682 mahals. The rent-roll included both the *khalisa* (khalsa) or crown lands and the *aqta* or *jagir* lands, *i.e.*, lands assigned to officers in lieu of pay or for the maintenance of troops. The nineteen sirkars which made up Bengal in 1582 paid a revenue on *khalsa* lands, inclusive of a few duties on salt, markets, and fisheries, of R. 6,337,052. The value of the *jagir* lands was fixed at R. 4,348,892, so that the total revenue of Bengal in 1582 was R. 10,685,944. This was levied from the raiyats in specie as the equivalent of the *rab*, or fourth share of the gross produce of the land claimed by the Sovereign as proprietary lord of the soil.

The distribution of the sirkars depended, as in the old Hindu division of the country, on the courses of the Ganges, Bhagirathi, and Megna rivers, or, as the *Ain* expresses it, on the courses of the Padmawati, Ganga, and Brahmaputra. A list of these sirkars is given in an appendix, together with short details of each. The following paragraphs deal more generally with the geography of the province.

Before the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans under Bakhtiar Khilji in 1202 the country is said to have been divided into five districts: (1) *Radha*, the country west of the Hooghly and south of the Ganges; (2) *Bagdi*, the delta of the Ganges; (3) *Banga*, the country to the east of and beyond the delta; (4) *Barendra*, the country to the north of the Padma river, and between the Karataya and the Mahananda rivers; and (5) *Mithila*, the country west of the Mahananda. We do not know whether these names refer to revenue districts or merely indicate (as they now do) popular and natural divisions based upon the course of the principal rivers; but as the different orders of the Brahmans and Kayasthas take their distinctive names from these divisions, it may be assumed that they existed or were recognised at the time of Ballala Sen, King of Nadiya, who classified the two castes above named.

Bakhtiar Khilji became master of Bengal by his bloodless victory over Ballala Sen, who surrendered, it is said, to eighteen troopers of the Imperial advance guard, but he merely took possession of the south-eastern parts of Mithila, Barendra, the northern portions of Radha, and the north-western portions of Bagdi; or, in other words, an area now comprised in the contiguous parts of the Burdwan, Presidency, Dacca, and Rajshahi Divisions, together with Purnea on the west. This conquered territory received from its capital the name of Lakhnauti, and is described as consisting of two wings, of which the north-eastern was called Barendra, with its capital at Deokot, and consisting of the modern districts of Malda, Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Bogra, and part of Purnea. The south-

western wing was named Ral (Radha), to which Lakhnur belongs, and comprised the districts of Berhampur, Nadia, Faridpur, Jessore, Birbhum, and parts of Burdwan. Lakhnur has never been discovered, but Deokot has been identified with the large fort of Dam-Dama, south of Dinajpur, close to which lies Gangarampur with its ruins, and the oldest Muhammadan inscription in Bengal. The nucleus of the Muhammadan kingdom of Bengal was, therefore, formed by the present districts of Malda and Dinajpur with the seat of government, Lakhnauti, in the former district.

Banga, the country to the east of and beyond the delta of the Ganges, did not come into the possession of the Muhammadans till much later, and was ruled by the Hindu kings of the Lakhmaniya dynasty as late as 1260. Coins of the Muhammadan Governors were not struck in its mint cities till 1323.

The southern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal was the northern outskirt of the Sunderbans, though it stretched out an arm to the islands at the mouth of the Megna. The whole of the seaboard from the Hooghly to the Megna was known to Muhammadan historians as the *bhati* or "low land subject to the influx of the tide," and even now-a-days this name is often used. Tippera, Bhalua, Noakhali, and Chittagong were contested ground, of which the Rajas of Tippera and Arakan were masters quite as often as the Muhammadans. The boundary was not finally extended to Chittagong till the reign of Aurangzeb (1658—1707).

The eastern frontier extended from Sunargaon and the Megna northward, and then turned to the east, including the district of Silhat: it then passed along the southern slopes of the Jaintia, Khasia, and Garo hills to mahal Sherpur in Northern Mymensingh, to the right bank of the Brahmaputra near Chilmari, and from there along the river to mahal Bhitarband, which formed the north-eastern frontier. The countries to the immediate east of this boundary were held by independent Rajas backed by the powerful kingdom of Koch Hajo, which extended along the left bank of the Brahmaputra to Kamrup.

The incursions on the part of the Assamese were as numerous as the inroads of the Muhammadans into Assam, which had commenced under the successors of Bakhtiar Khilji. During the reigns of Raja Kans and his son (A.H. 812—35), the Assamese (1414—1425) conquered North-Eastern Bengal as far as the Karataya river, but were driven out again when the Ilias Shahi dynasty was restored about 1440. The invasion of Kamrup by Alauddin Hussain Shah (1493—1518) is well known and is recorded on his coins, but the district was not permanently annexed till 1637, when

Gauhati became the north-eastern frontier of Bengal. Silhat was conquered in 1384, and its north-western thana contained the mint town of Muazzamabad.

The northern frontier of Muhammadan Bengal passed from mahal Bhitarband, near the bend of the Brahmaputra, along the southern portions of Kuch Bihar to Patgram in the west of that State, which is mentioned as the frontier town in the extreme north: from thence it ran along the present Terai at the foot of the hills and forests of Sikhim and Nepal to the bank of the Kosi river in northern Purnea. The Rajas of Northern Bengal were powerful enough to be semi-independent and to keep the Muhammadans constantly on the alert, and Deokot, near Dinajpur, was looked upon as the most important military station in the north. During the fifteenth century the tract north of Rangpur was in the hands of the Rajas of Kamata; the dynasty was destroyed by Alauddin Hossain Shah in 1498, and was succeeded by that of the Koch, to which the present Maharaja of Cooch Bihar belongs. With this family Raja Man Singh, the Hindu Commander-in-Chief in Bengal, intermarried in 1597.

To the west and north-west the frontier of the Bengal of those days extended little beyond the Kosi river, but under some of the early Muhammadan Governors and the independent kings, the Kingdom of Bengal included all Upper Bihar north of the Ganges as far as Saran. Haji Iliyas Shah (1339—58) was the founder of Hajipur opposite Patna, a strong strategical point in those days, as it commanded the confluence of the Gandak and the Ganges. In 903 A.H. (1497) Alauddin Hossain Shah was firmly established at Monghyr, and inscriptions at two places in Saran show that he held that district in 908 A.H. and 909 A.H., while his son, Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah, passed beyond the Gogra, for a mosque was built during his reign (1518—32) in the district of Azamgarh.

South of the Ganges the frontier was better defined. Southern Bihar, as we know it, only belonged to Bengal from the time of the conquest of Bakhtiar Khilji (1202) to about 730 A.H. (1330), when Muhammad Tughlaq, the mad Emperor, annexed it to Delhi. Upon the disintegration of the Empire, which took place after his death in 1351, South Bihar fell to the kingdom of Jaunpur, which set itself up in 1394, and remained independent till it was subverted and all its territory restored to Delhi by Bahlul Lodi in 1476.

Fort Taliagarh, or Garhi, near Colgong on the Ganges, was looked upon from its position as the key to Bengal, and from this point the permanent western boundary of Bengal ran along the Ganges to the south of Ag Mahal (Rajmahal), where it again turned westward to north-western

Birbhum, passing along the boundary of the modern district of the Sonthal Parganas to the confluence of the Barakar and Damudar rivers, whence it went along the left bank of the Damudar to the neighbourhood of the town of Burdwan. From here the frontier took again a westerly direction and passed along the north-western and western boundaries of the modern Hooghly and Howrah districts down to Mandalghat, where the Rupnarayan river flows into the Hooghly.

It will be noticed that two large portions of the present province of Lower Bengal—Orissa and Chota Nagpur—lay quite outside the Bengal of the Muhammadans.

At the time of the conquest of Bengal in 1202 and for centuries previous to that, Orissa had been ruled by Hindu kings, the last dynasty of whom, Rajputs of the House of Ganga Vansa, and coming from Tamluk and Midnapore, obtained the supremacy in 1131. Cut off by swamps, forests, and hills, and protected by its three great rivers, Orissa was practically secure from conquest from the north and west, while the sea guarded it on the east. Consequently the province of Orissa, though frequently raided and invaded both from Bengal and the Deccan, was never formally annexed to the Mughal Empire till 1578 in the time of the Emperor Akbar. 1592

Chota Nagpur, with the Tributary States and the eastern parts of the Central Provinces, then known generally as Jharkhand (the bush country), was at the same period a tangled and trackless mass of hill and forest, and was for the most part avoided and unknown. It contained one place or tract of importance, Jajnagar, which was conquered by Alauddin Hossain Shah (1493—1518), as his coins record, but the country was little known except as inhabited by savage idolaters and famous for its wild elephants.

PART II.

Historical.

(i) The initial period (1203—1338 A. D.)

The early history of Muhammadan Bengal during the initial period is extremely scanty, and depends mainly upon casual entries in the Imperial histories, for the evidence of coins and inscriptions is very meagre in regard to this period. Out of the twenty-five Governors who ruled Bengal for the Emperor, only six are represented by existing coins in any collection, while only four are mentioned in mural tablets.

These Governors, separated by a journey of many weeks from the Imperial Court, held a position which was always semi-independent, and long before the Province finally broke loose from the Empire at the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was constantly in a state of revolt whenever the Governor was unusually powerful or ambitious or the Emperor of the day specially feeble. Moreover, Bengal was constantly made the refuge of unsuccessful rebels or disgraced princes. Consequently the century and a quarter which elapsed after the conquest by Bakhtiar Khilji in 1202 till Bengal finally threw off the yoke of Delhi in 1338 was a time of much trouble and turmoil. Of its Governors during that time, only a short account can be given.

Bakhtiar Khilji (No. 1) only survived for three years his confirmation as the first Governor of Bengal, but in the interval he had distinguished himself by a disastrous expedition into Sikkim and Nepal. He died in 602 A. H. (1205) and is buried at Behar. His successor, *Izzuddin Shiran* (No. 2), ruled for no longer a period, and was then superseded by *Alauddin Mardan* (No. 3), an officer appointed from Delhi by the Emperor Qutbuddin. When the latter died in 607 A. H. (1210) Alauddin Mardan assumed independent powers. He too reigned for three years only, and was succeeded by a more fortunate or more powerful Governor, *Ghiyasuddin Iwaz* (No. 4), who had been Military Governor of Deokot, the principal military station on the north-east frontier of the Bengal of that day. Ghiyasuddin on becoming Governor of Bengal assumed royal honours, which soon brought him into collision with the Emperor Shamsuddin Altamsh (1210—1235). He was obliged to make his submission to the Emperor, but almost immediately afterwards in 1225 broke into rebellion. The Emperor attacked and defeated him, the rebellious Governor losing his life in the battle, and Bengal was then made over to *Nasiruddin*

Mahmud (No. 5), the Emperor's son, who had been Governor of Bihar from the time that it was recovered by the Imperial arms. Nasiruddin died at the end of 1228 or early in 1229, and thereby lost the succession to the throne of Delhi, which on the death of Altamsh in 1236 passed first to his worthless son, Ruknuddin, who was deposed after a reign of seven months, and then to his daughter, the famous Rezia Begum, the only woman who ever sat on the throne of Delhi (1236—1239). Shamsuddin Altamsh lies buried near the Qutb Minar, and his tomb is the earliest authentic Muhammadan tomb in India.

In Bengal, on the death of Nasiruddin, disturbances arose as usual, but these were quelled by the Emperor, who appointed to the government *Alauddin Jani* (No. 6), only to dismiss him before the year was out (1229) in favour of *Saifuddin Aibak* (No. 7). This officer held the post for four years only, and died at Lakhnauti in 1233. He was succeeded by *Izzuddin Tughril Khan* (No. 8), who governed Bengal for eleven years till his transfer to Oudh in 1244. In the interval he had sworn fealty to Rezia Begum on her elevation to the throne in 1236, and from the comparatively long duration of his reign it may be assumed that the province enjoyed a period of rest. It was in his reign that the historian Minhaj-ul-Seraj visited Lakhnauti. Izzuddin Tughril was succeeded by *Qamaruddin Timur Khan Kiran* (1244) (No. 9), who ruled Bengal for only two years and died there in 1246.

His successor, *Ikhtyaruddin Yazbak* (No. 10), was appointed by the Emperor Nasiruddin Muhammad, grandson of the great Altamsh and son of the Nasiruddin who had died at Lakhnauti, as Governor of Bengal in 1226. Nasiruddin, the Emperor, reigned at Delhi for nearly twenty years (1246—1265). He was a man of simple habits, scholarly tastes, and strict piety, and he left the administration of the Empire to his vazir, the great Ghiyasuddin Balban, who afterwards succeeded him, and who, formerly a Turki slave of Altamsh, had married one of that Emperor's daughters, and was therefore the uncle by marriage as well as the vazir of the scholar Emperor. Ikhtyaruddin proved himself in Bengal a strong Governor and a daring soldier. He assumed independence under the style and title of *Sultan Muizuddin*, but not long afterwards perished in the retreat from a too venturesome expedition into Kamrup (1258).

Of his successor, *Jalaluddin Masaud Malik Jani* (No. 11), little is known, and he seems to have had little more than temporary possession. In fact, the twenty years between 1258 and 1278 appear to have been spent in confused scuffling among various competitors, whose *de facto* claims were acknowledged by the Delhi Court whenever they sent elephants and tribute to the Emperor.

Ghiyasuddin Balban succeeded to the throne of Delhi in 1266, and in 1278 he appointed *Mughisuddin Tughril Khan* (No. 16) to be Governor of Bengal; but if his predecessors had been too weak, this officer was too strong, and within a short time he broke into open rebellion. The occasion arose out of a successful expedition across the Megna into Tippera, after which Tughril Khan refused to send any part of the booty to Delhi, and soon afterwards asserted his independence. The first army sent against him was totally defeated, whereupon the Emperor hanged the unsuccessful General: a second army was also defeated, and the Emperor then took the field in person. He drove Mughisuddin out of Sunargaon, his head-quarters, and forced him to take refuge in the forests. Here the Emperor followed him up, and a picked body of forty horsemen made their way to Tughril's camp without attracting observation: in the panic which followed upon their sudden attack Tughril was slain.

The Emperor Balban punished this rebellion with more than usual severity, and, in order to minimise the risk of such outbreaks in future, he appointed his second son, *Nasiruddin Bughra Khan* (No. 17), to be Governor (1282). From this time forward for the next forty years, till Bengal became finally independent, the Governor of Bengal was always a member of the House of Balban. The brief genealogy below will show the succession and indicate how intimately connected was the Governor of Bengal with the Imperial house at Delhi:—

HOUSE OF BALBAN.

GHIYASUDDIN BALBAN, EMPEROR [664—686 A.H. (1265—1287)].

- Nasiruddin Muhammad Bughra Khan, Governor of Bengal [681—691 A.H. (1282—1291)].
  - Muizzuddin Kai Kobad, Emperor [686—689 A.H. (1287—1290)].
  - Ruknuddin Kai Kaus, Governor of Bengal [691—702 A.H. (1291—1302)].
  - Shamsuddin Firoz Shah, Governor of Bengal [702—718 A. H. (1302—1318)].
    - Shahabuddin Shah, Governor of Bengal [718 A.H. (1318)].
    - Nasiruddin.
    - Ghiyasuddin Bahadur, Governor of Bengal [710—723 A.H. (1310—1323)].
    - Qatlu Khan.
- Muhammad Shahid, Governor of the Punjab, killed in battle [685 A.H. (1286)].
  - Kai Khasru.

Nasiruddin remained as Governor of Bengal from 1282 till 1291, and when his father, the great Ghyasuddin Balban, died in 1286 at the age of eighty, Nasiruddin was superseded for the Imperial throne by his son, Kai Kobad, under somewhat remarkable circumstances. Balban had lost a favourite son, Prince Muhammad, Governor of the Punjab, who had

been killed fighting against an invading Moghul army. Balban, sinking under the weight of years and grief, summoned Nasiruddin from Bengal to attend him on his deathbed. He came indeed as desired, but finding his father not so ill as he had expected, he returned to his province without leave or intimation. The dying Emperor was so incensed that he sent for Kai Khasru, the son of the deceased Prince Muhammad, and appointed him as his successor; but after the Emperor's death the ministers set aside his nomination, and Kai Kobad, the eldest son of Nasiruddin, became Emperor, apparently with the entire consent of his father.

Kai Kobad proved to be a weak and debauched Emperor, and soon fell completely under the influence of his vazir, Nizamuddin; at his instigation most of the possible claimants to the throne were put to death, and the kingdom fell into confusion. Hearing of these things, the Emperor's father, Nasiruddin Bughra Khan, marched up with an army from Bengal to safeguard the interests of the family: the Emperor moved out to meet him, and a collision seemed imminent. At an interview between father and son, the latter at first exacted all the homage due from a vassal, but his better feelings soon prevailed, and an affecting scene followed, which forms the subject of a well-known Persian poem. Bughra Khan returned to Bengal, having been able to effect little with his son, and the latter not long after was dethroned and put to death by a conspiracy headed by the family of Khilji, who then assumed the supremacy (1288).

The successor of Nasiruddin Bughra Khan in Bengal (see above) was his second son, *Ruknuddin Kai Kaus* (No. 18), who became Sultan in 1291, after having, it is believed, for some years struck coins as prince. Little is known of the events of the ten years during which he reigned.

In 1302 he was succeeded by his brother, *Shamsuddin Firoz Shah* (No. 19), of whose reign little record remains, but it is known that he was succeeded in turn by his son, *Shahabuddin* (No. 20), in Western Bengal in 1318. Some eight years previous to that date, *Ghiyasuddin Bahadur* (No. 21), the younger brother of Shahabuddin, had set himself up in Eastern Bengal, and in 1319 he set aside Shahabuddin and ruled over the whole of Bengal from Lakhnauti. Shahabuddin appealed to Delhi, where Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, the first of the Tughlaq Emperors, was now on the throne. In response to his appeal the Emperor proceeded in person to Bengal, where he defeated and captured Bahadur Shah and took him to Delhi, conquering Mithila (Tirhut) on his way back. Outside Delhi the Emperor Ghiyasuddin was killed by the fall of a pavilion erected for his reception by his son, Juna Khan, afterwards well known as the Emperor Muhammad Tughlaq, who, to quote the words of Elphinstone, left "the reputation of one

of the most accomplished princes and most furious tyrants that ever adorned or disgraced human nature." *

The new Emperor pardoned and restored Bahadur Shah, but to no purpose, for in 1332 he was once more in rebellion, and in the following year, the Emperor commanding the expedition in person, he was conquered and killed, his skin being stuffed and paraded through the provinces of the empire as a warning to insurgent Governors.

(*ii*) *The period of independence* (*1338 to 1538 A.D.*)

Of the next three sovereigns little is known, but we reach firm ground again with the successful rebellion of *Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah* (No. 26) in East Bengal in or about 1340, from which time the separation of Bengal from the Delhi Empire became final. This man had been the *silahdar* or armour-bearer of *Bahram Khan* (No. 23), Governor of East Bengal (Sunargaon), and on the death of his master he seized the throne; after being once defeated he overthrew *Kadar Khan* (No. 24), Governor of Lakhnauti, and established himself at Sunargaon only to be slain by the new Governor of Lakhnauti, *Alauddin Ali Shah* (No. 28). This prince moved the Court from Lakhnauti to Pandua, and coins from the new mint at that place (Firozabad) were first issued by him. He was assassinated by his foster-brother, *Shamsuddin Iliyas*, with whom a new dynasty and a new era begins.

Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah (No. 29) was the first of the independent kings of Bengal who really deserved the title of ruler, and his family (with an interval of 33 years) ruled over Bengal for a century and a half. He himself reigned well and vigorously for nineteen years and brought about a formal separation of Bengal from the empire of Delhi. For the first ten years of his reign his assumption of authority was not noticed by the Delhi Emperor (Muhammad Tughlaq), for he was fully occupied elsewhere with his numerous wars and insane schemes. Muhammad Tughlaq died at Tatta on the Indus in 1351 and was succeeded by his nephew, Firozuddin Tughlaq. In the third year of his reign (1353), taking offence at the encroachment of Iliyas Shah, who had threatened Benares and seized Hajipur on the Gandak, the Emperor made an attempt to recover Bengal, which he invaded with a large army. Iliyas Shah shut his troops up in strong forts, and himself occupied Akdala, a fortress near Gaur, which cannot now be identified. Pandua, which was now the royal residence, fell before the invader, but Akdala held out, and on the approach of the rains the Imperial Army

* It was on this occasion that the words "*Hanoz Delhi dur ast*" were used, which have since passed into a proverb. The Emperor had been warned that he would not enter Delhi alive; and when he was within a short distance of the city and about to enter the pavilion of reception he referred scoffingly to the prediction, and was answered that "Delhi was still far away."

retired after exacting a promise of tribute. In 1355 a treaty of peace was confirmed. and Bengal was formally recognised as an independent kingdom. Iliyas Shah died at Pandua in 1358, and the peace and prosperity of his reign are well illustrated by two matters, viz., the inauguration of a national and typical coinage and of a taste for building, both of which were still further developed by his son.

Iliyas Shah was succeeded by his son, *Sikandar Shah* (No. 30), who proved himself to be another capable ruler, and his reign extended for 31 years up to 1389. In 1359 the Emperor Firoz Shah again invaded Bengal, and the strategy of the previous campaign was repeated. Sikandar Shah shut himself up in Akdala, and the Imperial army again retired unsuccessful on the approach of the rains. The name of Sikandar Shah will always be famous as the builder of the great Adina mosque at Pandua, to which his own tomb is attached. This magnificent building was commenced in the year 1361 (763 A. H.) and finished, as the inscription upon it shows, in 1368 (770 A. H.) The mint cities of Sikandar Shah were five in number, viz., Lakhnauti, Firozabad, Satgaon, Shahri-nau, Sunargaon, and Muazzamabad (see page 3), and the number and wide distribution of these show the prosperity and extent of the province. Sikandar Shah was eventually killed in battle with his son, Ghyasuddin Azim Shah. This prince was driven from Court by the machinations of his step-mother, and set up the standard of rebellion in Sunargaon. When the two armies met at Goalpara near Pandua, Sikandar Shah was slain by inadvertence, though his son had issued special orders that he was not to be injured.

Ghyasuddin Azim Shah (No. 31), in spite of the ill-omened commencement of his reign, ruled the province well for nearly seven years (1389—1396); and was succeeded by his son, *Saif-ud-din Hamzah Shah* (No. 32), who reigned in peace and quiet for ten years' (1396—1406). The great *Eklakhi* mosque at Pandua is believed to have been completed by Hamzah Shah, and the tombs attached to it are said to be those of himself, his father and his brother. On his death he was succeeded by his adopted son, *Shams-ud-din* (No. 33) who proved a mere puppet and brought the dynasty to an end for the time being. That during these years Bengal was left undisturbed by the Emperors of Delhi may be partly due to the fact that the Delhi Empire itself was passing through a period of terrible agony: in 1393 the great Timur invaded India, and in December of that year occurred the frightful sack of Delhi, of which the memory has not yet died away.

About this time Raja Kans, the zamindar or Raja of Bhaturia, a large pargana in Dinajpur, had become powerful, and taking advantage of the weakness of the nominal Sultan, he rebelled and overpowered him in the year 1409. During the next five years coins were struck at Firozabad by a sultan calling himself *Shahabuddin Bayazid Shah* (No. 34);

but who this prince was is a matter which has never been finally decided. One theory is that he was a puppet king, the son of Shamsuddin, who was seated on the throne while Raja Kans as Vazir wielded all authority; another that Shahabuddin Bayazid was the Moslem name of Raja Kans, whose conversion to that faith is said to have taken place. The former is the more generally accepted theory. In any case during these five years the saint Nur Qutb-i-Alam (whose tomb is at Pandua to this day) in desperation wrote to the King of Jaunpur (Sultan Ibrahim-i-Sharqi) and invited him to invade Bengal. The invitation was accepted, and the Jaunpur army advanced as far as Sarai Firozpur. In this extremity Raja Kans applied to the saint to intercede for him with the invader, and the latter consented on condition that the Raja should accept the faith of Islam. Raja Kans accepted these terms, but was subsequently dissuaded by his wife: however, he took his son, Jadu or Jatmall, and the latter was made a good Muhammadan by the saint placing in his mouth some *pan* which he was chewing, and teaching him the creed: he was then named Jalaluddin. After this ceremony, followed apparently by the proclamation of Jalaluddin as Sultan, the saint condescended to intercede for Raja Kans, and so great was his influence that the Sultan of Jaunpur was induced to return to his own country, leaving Bengal undisturbed. The end of the story is that Sultan Ibrahim of Jaunpur died soon after these events: upon this Raja Kans deposed his son, and endeavoured to make a Hindu of him again by the usual process of passing him through the body of a golden cow, but Jalaluddin clung to his new faith and was imprisoned for his contumacy. Eventually Raja Kans died in 1409, and was succeeded without dispute by his son *Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah* (No. 35).

This prince ruled Bengal wisely and well for seventeen years (1414—1431). During all this time and up to the year 1450, when the great House of Lodi rose into eminence, there was no kingdom of India either in name or in reality, and this period of anarchy, for want of a better name, is known in history as the government of the Saiyids. Left to itself and far from the scene of conflict, the province of Bengal prospered greatly. Jalaluddin either removed or commenced to remove the seat of government back from Pandua to Gaur, and expended large sums of money in improving that city.

On the death of Jalaluddin in 1431, he was succeeded by the eldest of his sons, *Shamsuddin Ahmad Shah* (No. 36), who reigned for eleven years. He was, according to the *Riyaz-us-Sulatin*, a cruel and tyrannical prince, and was assassinated by conspirators. The two leaders of the conspiracy falling out after the King's death, one (Shadi Khan) was slain by the other (Nasir Khan), who assumed the throne, but was deposed and put to death by the nobles of the Court in 1442.

Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (No. 37), who was then called to the throne, belonged to the family of Iliyas Shah, and his accession restored that dynasty to power. The old families gathered round him, and he continued the rebuilding of Gaur which Jalaluddin had commenced, and which was continued by his sons. The wars between Jaunpur and Delhi, which raged at this time, gave calm to Bengal, and Mahmud Shah reigned in peace and quiet for eighteen years and died in 1459.

His successor, *Ruknuddin Barbak Shah* (No. 38), was Mahmud Shah's eldest son, and he reigned quietly for fifteen years, dying in 1474. It is stated of him that he was the first prince in Hindustan to introduce negro and Abyssinian slaves into his service, and that at one time he had 8,000 of them well mounted and equipped in his army: it was not long before this Prœtorian guard rose to power. Ruknuddin Barbak Shah built the palace in Gaur and two of its finest gateways: he was succeeded by his son, *Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah* (No. 39), who was a man of piety and learning. He died in 1481 after a reign of about seven years, but has made his name famous in Gaur, where he built the Tantipara mosque and the painted mosque. He left no children, and the nobles selected for the throne a youth of the Royal family named *Sikandar Shah* (No. 40); but as he proved a failure, he was deposed after a few months and was succeeded by his uncle, *Jalaluddin Fath Shah* (No. 41). Fath Shah reigned some six years, and gave great offence to the Abyssinian slaves and eunuchs of the palace by taking steps to reduce the immoderate position and influence which they had gained during the reigns of his predecessors. Consequently he was murdered in his palace at the instigation of the eunuchs, the chief of whom (*Barbak*) (No. 42), with the additional title of *Sultan Shahzada*, seized the throne in 1486.

The accession of this slave marks the commencement of a series of Abyssinian kings who followed each other in rapid succession on the throne during the next seven years. Barbak at once promoted his accomplices to all the positions of honour and emolument at his command, but at the end of eight months was assassinated. His successor was Malik Indil, also an Abyssinian, who had been Commander-in-Chief under Jalaluddin Shah, and on gaining the throne he assumed the title of *Saifuddin Firoz Shah* (No. 43). He was a man of capacity, both military and civil, and during the three years of his reign he built at Gaur a mosque, a reservoir, and the famous *Minar*, the remains of which are still to be seen. He died in 1489.

His successor was a son of Jalaluddin Fath Shah, who was raised to the throne under the name of *Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah* (No. 44), but his Vazir, Habshi Khan, possessed all real power, which he used so ill that

before the year was out first he and then his master were murdered by the leader of the Abyssinians, Sidi Badr Diwana (1489 A. D.)

This murderer, under the name of *Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah* (No. 45), reigned for three years with cruelty and tyranny, which he endeavoured to redeem by building a mosque at Gaur. The end came when all the nobility, headed by the Vazir, besieged him in his capital, but the Abyssinian was so well provided with trained troops that he defended the city of Gaur with success for four months, putting to death all prisoners whom he captured. Finally, he offered battle in the open, and was defeated and slain (1493).

He was succeeded by the greatest and best king that Muhammadan Bengal ever had, the great *Alauddin Hussain Shah* (No. 46), whose name is to this day famous throughout the province from the frontiers of Orissa to the banks of the Brahmaputra. He was by descent an Arab of Mecca, and had by learning, character, and ability risen to be Vazir under the late tyrant, till the latter's atrocities drove him into rebellion. He reigned for twenty-five years (1493—1518), and founded a dynasty which lasted till 1552, and of which the two most famous members were himself and his son, Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah. Of no prince in the history of Bengal are there so many inscriptions extant or so widely scattered throughout the province, while the coinage of himself and his son is profuse and varied.

Warned by the fate of some of his predecessors, Hussain Shah made the Fort of Akdala his residence, and from thence he set himself to introduce numerous and much-needed reforms in many departments of the State. After putting his kingdom in order, he aspired to make foreign conquests: with this object he invaded and plundered Assam, and occupied the kingdom of Kamrup, leaving his son there in command; but the natives of the country, waiting till the rains had interrupted communication, fell upon the Muhammadan garrison, and the Shahzada had much ado to escape with the loss of half his army. Hussain Shah is said to have built a fort on the Gunduk (perhaps that of Hajipore), and his public buildings and endowments were numerous and magnificent, among them being his own tomb, while the lesser golden mosque at Gaur was built by a private individual in his reign.

During the early part of his reign he gave asylum to the defeated Sultan of Jaunpur, Shah Hossain, who, after a war with the Delhi Emperor, which lasted twenty-six years (1452—1478), was finally driven out by Sultan Behlul Lodi, who annexed the country. The exiled Sultan received a suitable pension and lived till his death at Gaur, where he is buried.

The Province of Behar (South) had long been in the possession of the Sultan of Jaunpur, and fell into the hands of the Emperor Sikandar Lodi

in 1499. This event brought together the territories of the Delhi Emperor and the Sultan of Bengal. The Imperial troops advanced upon Bengal, but embassages of peace were sent, and at Barh, now in the Patna district, a treaty was concluded, by which the Delhi Emperor was allowed to retain without objection the countries which he had taken, including North and South Behar, provided that he did not in any way invade Bengal.

Hussain Shah was the father of eighteen sons, of whom the eldest and the most capable was *Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah* (No. 47), and accordingly he was raised to the throne on the death of his father in 1518. It is recorded of him as a mark of his unusual benevolence and generosity that he abstained from slaughtering or blinding his brothers, but, on the contrary, increased their allowances. He reigned for fourteen years, and he had not long occupied the throne before he found an opportunity of seizing North Behar, of which he was not slow to avail himself. The opportunity arose out of the straits in which the Emperor of Delhi found himself, for while repelling the invasion of the Moghuls under Baber which occurred about this time, he was unable to assist his vassals in North Behar. Accordingly this province was seized by Nasrat Shah, who extended his kingdom across the Gogra into the modern district of Azamgarh.

In 1526 Baber seized Agra, and making that his base he extended his conquests far and wide. When the Empire of Hindustan fell in that year, many of the chiefs of the reigning House of Lodi, including Mahmud, the brother of the late Emperor, Ibrahim Lodi, took refuge in Bengal, where they were hospitably received, and the King, Nasrat Shah, married a daughter of the late Emperor, who had accompanied her uncle into exile. These proceedings, coupled with the invasion of North Behar, roused the resentment of Baber, and he sent an army under his brother Mirza Askari to attack Bengal. A timely submission prevented the invasion; but in the following year the restless Mahmud Lodi with some other Afghan Chiefs made another attempt to recover his lost kingdom and advanced as far as Hideri, on the banks of the Ganges. Baber marched against him in person, and the Afghans, rather than face the terrible Moghul cavalry, retreated without fighting to the eastward of the Sone River. Baber advanced as far as Moner at the mouth of the Sone, and there made terms of peace, the conditions of which were that the Afghans should remain quiet, and that Nasrat Shah should no longer assist Mahmud Lodi. The Emperor returned to Agra, where he died in the following year, 1530-1531.

Upon the death of Baber the Afghans once more broke out, and Mahmud Lodi took possession of Jaunpur. Nasrat Shah took no active

part in these operations, but he gave every indirect assistance in his power to Mahmud. Eventually Nasrat Shah was assassinated by his eunuchs, to whom he had given offence by harsh treatment. During his reign of fourteen years, he built at Gaur the Golden Mosque, which was finished in 1525 (932 A.H.), and the Kadam Rasul, erected in 1532 (939 A.H.)

The immediate successor of Nasrat Shah was his son, *Alauddin Firoz Shah* (No. 48), but within a few months he was murdered by his uncle, another of the eighteen sons of Alaudin Hossain Shah, who ascended the throne under the name and style of *Ghyasuddin Mahmud Shah III* (No. 49). Upon this Makhdum Alam, Governor of Hajipore, broke into rebellion and joined forces with the famous Sher Khan, afterwards Emperor of Delhi, but at that time Regent of Behar on behalf of the Afghan House of Lohani. Under the orders of the King of Bengal, Qutb Khan, Governor of Monghyr, invaded South Behar and attacked Sher Khan, but was defeated and slain. A second expedition was organised, but at this moment Jalaluddin Lohani, the young Prince of Behar, deserted to the Bengal camp, and Sher Khan with much reduced forces threw himself into the fort at Behar. Here he defended himself stoutly, and finally with a vigorous sortie defeated and drove off the Bengal army and slew their General.

In the following year (1536) Sher Khan delivered his counter-attack: he seized the fortress of Chunar and made himself master of all South Behar. Thence he marched on Gaur, and after being detained by the natural difficulties of the defile of Taligarhi (Colgong), he laid siege to the capital. Mahmud Shah sent many messages for assistance to the Emperor Humayun, who was then besieging Chunar, but no reply having been received, he finally escaped from Gaur in a small boat and made for Hajipore. He was pursued and wounded in the fight which followed, but made good his escape to the camp of Humayun, where he was well received: soon after Gaur capitulated, and was occupied by the Afghans.

A curious incident of these wars is the intervention of the Portuguese. A party of them had attempted to make a settlement at Chittagong, but were seized and sent to Gaur. When war broke out they were employed in the Bengal army and bore themselves well in the defence of Colgong. The king was so pleased that more Portuguese were sent for, but when a fleet of nine ships arrived they found Gaur in the hands of Sher Shah.

Early next year, 1538-1539 (945 A.H.), Humayun, having reduced Chunar, marched towards Bengal to attack Sher Khan and to restore Gaur to Mahmud Shah. Sher Khan held the defile at Colgong, which he had greatly strengthened, and an assault of the Imperial troops was beaten off

with great loss to them. Upon this Humayun himself advanced with reinforcements, and Jalal Khan, the son of Sher Khan, losing heart, deserted his entrenchments and fell back upon his father at Gaur. Mahmud Shah, hearing that two of his sons had been murdered by the Afghans, died of grief (1539), but Humayun continued his march on the capital. Sher Khan, taking all his plunder with him, retired before the Imperial army towards his native district of Sassaram through the hills and forests of the Sonthal Parganas and Hazaribagh, and finally by a stratagem seized the plateau of Rhotas, where he was secure from attack.

Humayun occupied Gaur, and was so pleased with the city and his easy conquest that he renamed it Jannatabad (the City of Paradise). It proved a very Capua to him, for after wasting three months there in luxury and ease he found himself obliged to return to Agra by the dissensions in other parts of his dominions. By this time the rainy season had commenced; his northern troopers, enervated with the climate of Bengal and the pleasures of the capital, died or deserted in large numbers; while his transport, overcome with fatigue and the badness of the road, greatly hampered his movements. Sher Khan, hearing of the condition of the Emperor, collected an army of Afghans from every quarter, and threw himself across the Emperor's line of retreat, entrenching himself strongly at Chowsa, where the Karamnasa, now the boundary between Bengal and the Upper Provinces, flows into the Ganges. For nearly three months the Moghul army lay there unable to move, while Humayun strove to build a bridge of boats in order to cross the Ganges. When this was nearly completed, it is said that a treaty of peace was concluded by which the Emperor relinquished all claim to Bengal and Behar, on condition that Sher Khan should no longer oppose his march or assist his enemies. The treaty was signed, and both sides gave way to rejoicing, but the unscrupulous Sher Khan, with characteristic Afghan treachery, attacked the Moghul camp in the night and slew 8,000 of them, while the Emperor and a few followers escaped only by swimming their horses across the Ganges in the darkness. It was on this occasion that there occurred the well-known incident of a *bhisti* saving the life of the Emperor by supporting him on his *mussuck*. In return the *bhisti* was made Emperor for 2½ days; he signalised his reign by issuing leather rupees, and his tomb at Ajmir is still shown.

(*iii*) *The period of the Afghan Supremacy* (*1538—1558*).

The death of the unfortunate Ghyasuddin Mahmud Shah, and the destruction of Humayun's army, followed by the flight of the Emperor, left Sher Khan with no real rival in Bengal, and he at once repaired to Gaur and assumed the royal insignia with the title of Sultan Sher Shah. He

remained there for the best part of a year, settling the administration and recruiting and equipping his troops.

Finally, with an army of 50,000 Afghans he marched against Humayun, and in a decisive battle at Canouj, fought on the great day of the Muhurram 947 A. H. (1540), he totally defeated the Moghuls, and became at last Emperor of Hindustan. The misfortunes of Humayun during the next few years form no part of the history of Bengal, but it may be interesting to note here that it was during these wanderings of Humayun as a homeless fugitive that there was born at Amercot, in the heart of the Rajputana desert, the incomparable Akbar.

Sher Shah followed the retreating Humayun westwards at his leisure, and received, without striking a blow, the submission of the Emperor's brother Kamran, who yielded up the Punjab to him and retired to Kabul. Sher Shah settled his newly-conquered province, founding on the Indus the fort of Rhotas in memory of his own fortress in Bengal, and hastened back to Gaur, where his lieutenant Kizr Khan was already in revolt. Here he completed his arrangements for the division and administration of Bengal, and in the year 1541 retired to Agra. Four years of war and conquest followed, and finally the Emperor met an untimely death by the explosion of a powder magazine while he was besieging Calinjer in Mewar (1545). He lies buried in the splendid mausoleum which he had built for himself in his native town of Sassaram, leaving the perpetual memory of a strong and capable ruler, a brilliant soldier and strategist, and an able administrator.

He was succeeded as Emperor of Delhi by his second son Jalaluddin under the title of Selim Shah, since the eldest son Adil was, by universal consent, declared incapable. Selim appointed as Governor of Bengal a relative named Muhammad Khan, who assumed the title of *Shamsuddin Mohammad Sur Ghazi Shah* (No. 50), and he ruled Bengal well during the reign of Selim. Upon the death of that Emperor in 1553, his infant son was murdered by his maternal uncle Muhammad Khan, who usurped the throne under the title of Muhammad Adil Shah. The follies and vices of this despicable person and his favourite minister Hemu, a Hindu of low birth, were so great that the whole Empire was soon in rebellion, and among others the Governor of Bengal asserted his independence. In the following year he extended his dominions by taking possession of some of the districts of Jaunpur; but in 1555, having advanced with a large army as far as Chappargattah, near Kulpi, he was there overthrown and slain in a great battle by the Imperial troops under Hemu, who with all his vices was a skilful general.

The Chiefs of the beaten army raised to the throne Khizr Khan, the son of their late Sovereign, under the title of *Bahadur Shah* (No. 51). He returned with his army to Gaur, only to find that on learning of the disaster of Chappargattah, the Governor Shahbaz Khan had declared for the Emperor Adil Shah. This rebellion was soon quelled, and the new King applied himself to the recruitment of his army with such effect that he was able in the following year, 1556, to march against the Emperor of Delhi. The two armies met at Surajgarh near Monghyr, and after a hard-fought battle the Emperor Muhammad Adil was slain and his army totally routed. This victory, which occurred in the same year that Akbar succeeded his father at Delhi and in the Punjab, gave to Bahadur Shah the absolute sovereignty of Bengal and part of Behar. Early in the same year Adil Shah had lost the provinces of Agra and the Punjab at the battle of Paniput, when the returned Humayun had defeated and captured Hemu. By the death of Adil Shah the dynasty of Sher Shah came to an abrupt end after only three reigns.

Bahadur Shah died at Gaur in 1560, and as he had no children he was succeeded by his brother Jalal under the name of *Ghyasuddin Jalal Shah* (No. 52), but he only survived his elevation three years, while his son died by the hand of an assassin.

Before the growing power and vigour of the Moghuls, the smaller kingdoms of Hindustan had not much longer to live, and on the stage of Bengal only one more family plays a part before the province is absorbed into the Empire of the great Moghul.

The Afghan house of Kararani had rendered important services to Sher Shah and had been rewarded by him and his son Selim with wealth and honours. Taj Khan, an elder brother of this family, was Governor of Sambal during the reign of the Emperor Selim Shah, and Suliman, a younger brother, was at the same time Governor of Behar. On the death of the Emperor Selim, Suliman refused to acknowledge his successor, the infamous Muhammad Adil, and persuaded his brother Taj Khan to do the same. They joined their fortunes to those of Bahadur Shah and played an important part in the defeat of the Imperial army near Monghyr in 1556. During the reign of Bahadur Shah and that of his brother Jalaluddin the family of Kararani remained on good terms with the Government at Gaur; but when the youthful son of Jalaluddin was assassinated by Ghyasuddin, Suliman Kararani despatched an army to Gaur under his brother, which drove out the usurper. Taj Khan remained at the capital only a year, and on his death there in 1564 his brother Suliman moved up from Behar to succeed him.

Suliman Shah Kararani (No. 54) had been much struck with the number of kings who had died at Gaur at an early age, and ascribed the circumstance

either to the unhealthiness or bad luck of the place; in consequence he moved his capital to Tanda. In the following year he laid siege to Rhotas, the only place of importance in Bengal and Behar which held out for the Emperor. At the request of the Governor, the Emperor Akbar sent a small force which raised the siege and thereafter came to terms with the Bengal Sultan. In 1567 Suliman invaded and subdued Orissa; his redoubtable general Raja or Kala Pahar is still remembered in that province; he next invaded and plundered Cooch Behar, and, after quelling a rebellion in Orissa, settled down to the consolidation and improvement of his dominions. He died at his new capital in 1573 in the odour of sanctity.

He was succeeded by his eldest son *Bayazid Shah* (No. 55), who was shortly put to death by the nobles, and his brother *Daud Khan* (No. 56) was raised to the throne in his stead. This Prince counted himself equal to a contest with the Imperial Government, and the wealth and resources of the province are shown in the fact that he could muster an army of 40,000 cavalry, 140,000 infantry "of different descriptions," 20,000 guns of various calibre, 3,600 elephants, and several hundred war galleys. Inspirited by the possession of forces so great, Daud Shah invaded the Moghul territories and seized the fort of Zamania near Ghazipore, which had been erected a few years before as a frontier post of the Moghuls by Zoman Khan, a Moghul General.

The Emperor Akbar retaliated by sending to Behar Munim Khan, who was then commanding in Jaunpur. The rival armies met near Patna, and after some skirmishing came to terms, which pleased the principals of neither party; and while the Bengal General was disgraced and put to death, the Emperor Akbar sent Raja Todar Mull to supersede Munim Khan. Meanwhile, however, the latter to retrieve his reputation had laid siege to Patna, which, on the other hand, was stoutly defended (1574), until the Emperor himself was compelled to bring reinforcements, travelling down from Agra by river. The Governor of the fort at Hajipore had been very active in assisting the beleaguered garrison, and Hajipore was therefore carried by assault after repeated attempts under the eyes of the Emperor himself: the heads of all the slain were sent to Daud Khan in a boat with a message from the Emperor. The Afghan was so affected by the sight that he made his escape from the city down the Ganges with his treasure and valuables. His desertion was followed by the flight of the garrison and the sack of Patna (1574).

Before returning to Agra, the Emperor appointed Munim Khan to the Government of Bengal and Behar, and, in particular, placed under his orders the redoubtable Todar Mull with 10,000 chosen cavalry with orders to march on Tanda. Much difficulty was expected in forcing

the defences of Taliaghari, but the Afghan garrison deserted their entrenchments without a blow. On hearing this disastrous news Daud Shah loaded his family and treasure on elephants and took the road for Orissa. Munim Khan proceeded to occupy Tanda, while Todar Mull was detached to pursue Daud Shah.

Somewhere in Beerbhum or Midnapore, the Bengal Sultan turned to bay, and Todar Mull was compelled to send for reinforcements: eventually Munim Khan himself arrived with all the forces that could be spared. Upon this Daud Shah fell back before the Imperial troops till the neighbourhood of Cuttack was reached (1574): here, after a desperate battle, the Moghuls were successful, and Daud Shah, after retiring to the fort at Cuttack, gave himself up and swore fealty to the Emperor.

Munim Khan returned to Tanda without delay (1575), and having been much impressed by the beauty and magnificence of Gaur determined to make it once more the seat of Government. This design was carried into effect in the middle of the rainy season, with the result that a devastating pestilence broke out, which carried off the Governor himself and thousands of his army and of the inhabitants.

The death of Munim Khan was the signal for a general insurrection of the scattered Afghans throughout the province, and Daud Shah, the deposed king, at once placed himself at their head and drove the Moghul troops back to Patna and Hajipore. It was some time before Hussain Quli Khan, the new Governor of Bengal appointed by Akbar, could arrive from Lahore, where he had been Governor of the Punjab, but in 1576, gathering up the scattered detachments of Moghuls as he came, he attacked and carried after a desperate resistance the defile of Taliagarhi. The Afghan with the remainder of his army had occupied a second line of defence near Rajmahal, and it was not till after the lapse of several months that the Moghuls carried the position with the assistance of artillery brought down by river from Agra. Daud Shah was captured and put to death as a traitor and rebel, and his head was sent by special messenger to Agra.

With the death of Daud Shah ended finally the rule of the Afghans over Bengal, which had lasted for nearly four centuries, their place being now taken by the Moghuls from Delhi. As we look back on the scenes which have been presented on the stage, what do we see? A long procession of foreign rulers, fierce, cruel, alien in race and faith to the people of the country; long periods of unrest, turmoil and revolution stained with murder and rapine; shorter intervals here and there when the land had rest under a strong ruler, when the war cloud rolled away to the west and when the arts of peace flourished in a prosperous country under a cultured and luxurious

Sovereign. Of the condition of the masses of the people we get little indication: they seem to have been held in *quasi*-feudal control by the Afghan jagirdars, amongst whom the country was parcelled out especially along the marches, and to have been the kings' serfs elsewhere: in times of peace they seem to have been fairly well off, and many writers speak in enthusiastic terms of the beauty and richness of Bengal: it was described by the homesick Moghuls as "a hell full of good things:" but in war time they suffered unspeakably. Nor do we hear, with very few exceptions, of a Hindu nobility, or of the trading and mercantile classes. As regards the latter, they must have been alternately protected and persecuted by their masters, as were the townsfolk and craftsmen of the early Middle Ages: it is in evidence that the Muhammadans in the middle of the sixteenth century had advanced far in luxury and a love of art, and the numbers, skill and wealth of the traders and artificers must have been great. As to the former rulers and nobility of the country, it may be assumed that they were treated with little consideration by their fierce, haughty and unscrupulous conquerors: here and there we find a hint of some Hindu Raja or zamindar maintaining his independence, but the instances of employment are very few indeed. Probably this may largely be due to the fact that the historians of the time were court chroniclers and Muhammadans, but the broad fact remains that throughout nearly four centuries practically all posts of importance and emolument were in the hands of foreigners, who had nothing in common with the people they ruled in religion, race, language or character. Is it unfair to conclude that the soft enervating climate, the rich soil, and fruitful seasons of Bengal have necessarily produced a people born to serve and obey, but unable to conquer and rule?—

"Nos numcrus sumus, et fruges consumere nati."

PART III.

TOPOGRAPHICAL.*

The city of Gaur, with its suburbs, covered an area variously estimated at from twenty to thirty square miles. The situation is somewhat elevated, and the soil is clay, well suited to preserve the houses from inundations. The dimensions of the city proper, *i.e.*, the part within the great continuous embankment, are a length of about 7½ miles from north to south, and a breadth varying from one to two miles, which would give an area of nearly thirteen square miles. The west face of the city was throughout washed by the main stream of the Ganges, for we are certainly justified in assuming that what is now the channel of the little Bhágirathí was formerly occupied by the entire waters of the great river. The eastern side was protected partly by the Mahánandá, and yet more effectually by the perennial swamps which intervene between that river and the embankments of Gaur. But little protection was needed to the south, for the junction a little lower down of the Mahánandá with the Ganges would always have prevented an invader from choosing such a circumscribed base of operations. On the north, which was the most accessible quarter, an artificial bulwark was required. A line of fortification about six miles in length extends in an irregular curve from the old channel of the Bhágirathí at Sonátalá to near the Mahánandá at Bholahát. This rampart is from 180 to 200 feet wide at the base and 40 feet in height, and is said to be mainly composed of brick. At each end, where it touches on the rivers, it is cut off by a ditch 120 feet in width. At the north-east part of this curve is a gate, protected by a strong projecting outwork in the form of a quadrant, through which a high embanked road passes north and south. This outwork contains several tanks and the monument of a Muhammadan saint. It seems to have been the station of the police officer who had charge of this part of the city. The *parganá* or Fiscal Division, which extends over this portion of the ruins, is still called Kotwálí. Near the north-east corner of the outwork, at the confluence of the Kálindrí with the Mahánandá, stands a *minár* or tower, said to have been erected by a merchant in the days of old. It has now fallen to ruin, but yet presents a striking object as viewed from the ferry of Nimásarái.

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* NOTE.—The following description of the ruins of Gaur and Pandua is taken mainly from Hunter's *Statistical Gazetteer of Bengal*, 1876, Vol. VII. The compiler of the account in that work has been greatly indebted to the researches of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton—*vide* Martin's *Eastern India*, 1838, Vol. II.

To the north of the rampart, and therefore entirely apart from the city, are two isolated ruins, which are connected with the names of Adisúr and Ballál Sen, early Hindu kings of Bengal. The latter was King of Nadiya when Bengal was conquered by Bakhtyar Khilji in 1202. The first mound has been levelled with the ground, and the plough has passed over it; but Dr. Hamilton observed that a considerable field was covered with fragments of bricks, and on the surface he found a block of carved granite, which seemed to have formed part of an entablature. Close by are the ruins of the palace where Ballál Sen, the successor of Adisúr, is said to have resided. It consisted, like the palace near Dacca, of a square of about 400 yards, surrounded by a ditch. Behind the rampart, which has been already described, lay the northern suburb of the city. It is of vast extent, and is likened by Dr. Hamilton to the quadrant of a circle with a radius of 6,000 yards. It does not appear to have been at any time thickly inhabited. The eastern portion is now occupied with marshes; but the western portion near the Bhágirathí is enclosed by earthworks, and contains several public works. It is here that is situated the large Ságar Díghí, the most celebrated artificial piece of water in Bengal, which is said to have been commenced by Raja Lachman Sen in 1126. Its dimensions are almost 1,600 yards from north to south, and more than 800 from east to west. The banks are built of brick, and the water remains pure and sweet to the present day. This was no doubt a Hindu structure; and in the neighbourhood are the two most frequented places of Hindu devotion in the district. The banks, however, are now occupied by Muhammadan buildings, of which the most conspicuous is the tomb of Makhdum Sháh Jalál, a saint who is related to have possessed great influence during the reigns of the early Musalmán kings of Bengal. Makhdum Sháh Jalál died in 1244. An inscription shows that the door of his tomb was built by Hossain Shah in 1510 (A. H. 916). Near this tomb is a small mosque, called the Janjan Miyan Mosque. Its builder was a lady, and the date is 1534 (941 A. H.). Both these buildings are supported by an endowment, and are tolerably well cared for. On the side of the Bhágirathí, opposite this suburb, at a market-place now called Sádullápur, is the chief descent (*ghát*) to the holy stream. To this spot the dead bodies of Hindus are still brought from great distances to be burned.

Immediately to the south lies the city itself, which, towards each suburb and along the Ganges, has been defended by a strong rampart and ditch. On the side that faces the Mahánandá the rampart has been double, and in most parts there have been two immense ditches, and in some parts three. No doubt these works were designed as much for embankments and drains as for fortifications. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* they are called dams, and are said to have been sometimes breached by the inundations, when the city

would be laid under water. The base of the outer embankment was in one place measured by Mr. Creighton, and found to be 150 feet thick. By far the greater portion of the thirteen square miles thus enclosed appears to have been thickly inhabited. Small tanks, such as are found in Bengali towns, are everywhere to be seen, as well as many foundations of houses, and the remains of small places of worship. In the southern part there have been numerous roads, raised very high, and so wide that in many places small buildings of brick were erected on their sides. These were probably chapels or other places of public resort; while the dwelling-houses were huddled together along the sides of the tanks. There have been many bridges, but all small and clumsy.

Somewhat to the south, on the bank of the Bhágirathí, the citadel or *kila* was placed. It extends about a mile in length from north to south, and is from 600 to 800 yards broad. The rampart which encircles this area has been very strongly built of brick, with many flanking angles and round bastions at the corners. Dr. Hamilton had no doubt that it was a work of the Muhammadan period. Outside the northern entrance, which is called the Dakhil Darwaza and is ascribed to Barbak Shah (1459—74) have been several gates, which must have been intended for triumphal arches, for they did not appear to be connected with the remains of any walls. The palace, in the south-west corner of the citadel, was surrounded by a wall of brick sixty-six feet high and eight feet thick, with an ornamented cornice. The palace and a magnificent gateway, called the Chand Darwaza were built by Barbak Shah in 1466. In the interior the remains of several cross-walls are visible, but the arrangement of the apartments can no longer be ascertained. Indeed, almost the whole site is now under cultivation. A little to the north of the palace are the royal tombs, where Husáin Sháh and others of the independent kings of Bengal lie buried. The building which existed in Mr. Creighton's time has been almost entirely destroyed, but it had evidently considerable pretensions to elegance. The floor was paved with stone, and the graves were covered with slabs of polished hornblende, the substitute in Bengal for black marble. The tomb of Fath Shah (1481—86), however, is still identifiable. The area of the citadel also contains two mosques, the larger of which has fallen into ruins. The smaller is in good preservation, being supported by an adequate endowment. This is the mosque known as the Qadam Rásúl, which Mr. Creighton in his survey describes as containing the print of a foot in stone. This mosque was built by Sultán Nasrat Sháh, the son and successor of Husáin Sháh: the inscription, which is perfect, fixes the date at A.H. 937, or A.D. 1530.

Just outside the east wall of the citadel stands a lofty tower of brick, up the centre of which runs a winding stair leading to a chamber with four windows

at the summit. It is known as Pír Asa Munara, but no object is assigned for its erection by the natives. It was probably a tower for the Muazzin, and is ascribed to Malik Indil, the Abyssinian, who reigned under the name of Firoz Shah (1486—89). Mr. Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture*,[1] gives a woodcut of it, after a photograph by Mr. J. H. Ravenshaw, c.s., and appends the following description:—'One of the most interesting of the antiquities of the place is a *minár*, standing in (?) the fort. For two-thirds of the height it is a polygon of twelve sides; above that circular, until it attains the height of 84 feet. The door is at some distance from the ground; and altogether it looks more like an Irish round tower than any other example known, though it is most improbable that there should be any connection between the two forms. It is evidently a pillar of victory, a Jaya Stambha, such as the Kútab Minár at Delhi. There is, or was, an inscription on this monument, which ascribed its erection to Firoz Sháh.'

South of the palace are two buildings of great importance, viz., the Tantipara (or weavers') Mosque and the Lattan or Painted Mosque. The former is believed to have been built by Yusuf Shah in 1475, and the latter by the same king, but the date is uncertain. It derives its name from the encaustic tiles of vivid colours with which the whole of the interior was ornamented About a mile and a half due north of the citadel is a space of 600 square yards, bounded by a rampart and ditch, known as the flower-garden. South-east of this, and not quite a mile north-east from the citadel, is the Piyáswárí, or the abode of thirst, a tank of considerable dimensions, but containing very bad, brackish water. With this name is connected the tradition that condemned criminals were allowed nothing to drink but the water of this tank, and thus perished of thirst. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, the court historian takes credit to his master Akbar for having abolished this inhuman practice. There are many other large tanks within the city walls, some of which contain tame crocodiles, which are fed by the resident *fakirs*. Of these, the finest is the Chhotá Ságar Díghí, which only in size is inferior to the tank of the same name in the north suburb.

Between the Piyáswárí and the citadel is situated the Great Golden Mosque, which is generally reckoned as the grandest building in Gaur. An inscription formerly recorded that it was built by Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah in 1526 (A. H. 932). It is about 180 feet from north to south, 60 feet from east to west, and 20 feet high to the top of the cornice. It is a perfect parallelopiped without projection or recess except that it was formerly covered with thirty-three domes. The only other structure of interest

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[1] Ed. 1867, vol. ii, pp. 658, 659.

remaining to be described is the fine central gate in the south wall of the city. It is called the Kotwáli Darwázá, presumably from the circumstance that the Superintendent of the police was stationed there. This magnificent gateway was almost certainly built by Mahmud Shah in 1455 (860 A. H.), while the neighbouring bridge was built by him two years later.

Southwards from this gate stretches an immense suburb as far as Pukhariyá, a distance of about seven miles. Its width is comparatively small, but it bears abundant traces of having been at one time densely occupied. Dr. Hamilton thought that it had resembled the straggling line of villages which generally fringe the main roads issuing out of a large town, and that in its eastern part there had been many gardens and country houses belonging to the wealthier citizens. Its name was Firozpur, so called from Firoz Sháh, 1486—89. Towards the east and south there was an embankment and ditch probably designed to ward off the floods, which have now created large marshes in that direction. This southern suburb contains a good number of public buildings. The most prominent among these are the Lesser Golden Mosque, which Dr. Hamilton describes as 'one of the neatest pieces of architecture in the whole place,' and the tomb of Niámat-ullá Wáli. This person was the *Pír* or spiritual guide of Sujá Sháh, and he died in 1669, long subsequent to the desertion of Gaur, showing that for some time at least the place was partially inhabited. His monument is to this day carefully tended by his descendants, who own a considerable estate, which was granted as an endowment, and spend a great part of the income therefrom in charity. The Lesser Golden Mosque is described by Mr. Ravenshaw as the gem of Gaur, and is in better preservation than most of the Gaur ruins. The inscription shows that it was built by Wali Muhammad in the reign of Alauddin Hussain Shah (1493—1518), but the actual date is gone. South of this mosque is the Taksal Dighi or Tank of the Mint.

Such are the principal features of the ruins of Gaur, which has clearly been a great city. No doubt many of the accounts of its vast population are merely Oriental exaggerations. According to the Portuguese historian of the 16th century, Faria deSouza, the population was nearly a million and a quarter *families*. But even according to Dr. Hamilton, who places the inhabited area at twenty square miles, only two-thirds of Major Rennell's estimate, it would have contained over six or seven hundred thousand souls.

PANDUA, or Peruah, as it is commonly, but less correctly called, is in all respects less noteworthy than Gaur, though it contains some remarkable specimens of early Muhammadan architecture. Its comparatively small historical importance has given rise to more than one error. The maps

scarcely mark the place at all, and uniformly give some one of the corrupt modes of spelling the name. Hence, when a mention of the place is found in history, it is often confused with the better known, but much less important place of the same name in Húglí district. To avoid this difficulty, General Cunningham proposed that it should be known as Hazrat Pandua or "Pandua, the residence," as it is always described by the historians. The proximity of Gaur has also overshadowed Pandua, so that the antiquities of the latter place have been sometimes attributed in their entirety to the former.

Pandua is situated about twenty miles from Gaur and six from Maldah, in a north-easterly direction from both. It is near no river, and does not possess any apparent advantages of site. Its first appearance in history is in the year 1353 A.D., when Iliás Shah, the first independent King of all Bengal transferred his capital from Gaur to Pandua. It has been supposed that this king and his successors were influenced in their desertion of Gaur by strategic reasons. Pandua was not accessible by water, and was probably then, as now, protected by almost impenetrable jungles. It is not probable that the vast Hindu community of traders and artisans also left their homes at Gaur, but merely that the court was removed and that Pandua was the Windsor of Bengal. This would explain both the smaller number of ruined dwelling-houses at Pandua as well as the superior sanctity in which this place is held by the Muhammadans. The court name for Pandua was Firozábád, which from this time regularly makes its appearance on the coins, whereas that of Lakhnautí (Gaur) disappears. The earliest coin with the name of Firozábád is dated 743 A. H. (1342), and was struck in the reign of Alauddin Ali Shah: the latest with the name of Lakhnautí is dated 721 A. H., and was struck by Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah. The seat of government remained here during the reigns of five successive monarchs, when it was permanently re-transferred to Gaur by Jalaluddin (1414-31). It is probable, however, that Pandua, though its name is not again mentioned in history, maintained its splendour for some time, and was a favourite country resort for royalty.

The history of Pandua is short, and the topography, so far as it has been explored, is equally simple. No survey has ever been taken of the site; and even Dr. Buchanan Hamilton found himself unable to penetrate through the dense jungle beyond the beaten track. The following description is condensed from his account of the place.

A road paved with brick, from twelve to fifteen feet wide, and not very straight (the present high road from Maldah to Dinájpur), seems to have passed through the entire length of the town. It stretches nearly north and south, and is about six miles in length. No doubt the buildings were erected

on both sides of this great causeway, which was one of those said to have been constructed by Ghiyasuddin Iwaz, who was one of the Delhi Governors (1211—26). Almost all the surviving monuments are on the borders of this road. Near the middle is a bridge of three arches, partly constructed of stone, which has been thrown over a rivulet. It is rudely built, and of no great size; and, as is the case with all the other monuments in Pandua, the materials have manifestly come from the Hindu temples of Gaur, as they still show sculptured figures of men and animals. At the northern end of the street are evident traces of a rampart, and the passage through is called Garhdwár, or the gate of the fortress. At the south end are many foundations, which have also probably belonged to a gate, but the forest is so impenetrable that the wall cannot be traced. Dr. Hamilton was of opinion that, in general, the town extended only a little way either east or west from the main street, but that a scattered suburb reached in a southerly direction as far as Maldah.

On approaching the ruins from the south, the first two objects that attract attention are the monuments of Makhdum Sháh Jalál Tabrizi and Qútab Sháh (Nur Qutb Alam), who were two of the most distinguished religious personages under the early Muhammadan kings of Bengal. They died in 1244 and 1447 respectively. Numerous pilgrims repair hither at all seasons and from all parts of Bengal, especially with the object of laying their own bones near those of these holy men. The monument of Makhdum is chiefly frequented at one great annual *melá* and that of Qútab at four smaller meetings (*ulos*); but all religious mendicants, at whatever time they come, are entertained for three days. Both are supported by considerable endowments, out of which the buildings are kept in repair, and a numerous establishment of servants is maintained. The lands in this district, which belong to Makhdum, are known as Báis-hazári, or twenty-two thousand, from containing that number of *bighás*, and have always been managed by a person appointed by Government. The lands of Qútab are under the management of his descendants, and are called Chhái-hazárí, as containing 6,000 *bighás*.

The monument of Makhdum is reached first. The entrance is pointed out by a plain door of brick and stone. Some distance behind lies a village composed of about 100 huts, which are occupied by the attendants; and next come some rude sheds, in which pilgrims find shelter. The monument itself consists of a small square area, entered at the south-east corner. To the right of the door is a little chamber, in which the saint used to perform his devotions. On the west is a small plain mosque, and the two remaining sides are occupied by a refectory and a tank. The buildings are kept in fair order, and the materials have evidently been taken from Gaur. From

three different inscriptions, it would appear that some of the buildings were erected or repaired in A. H. 1075 (1664), A. H. 1084 (1673), and A. H. 1093 (1682). The tomb of the saint is not here, but at Gaur, as has been mentioned in the description of that city; but this is the spot where his memory is most honoured. About a quarter of a mile farther is the village belonging to the descendants of Qútab, who are fully as numerous as those of Makhdum, while the accommodation for strangers is greater. The monument occupies a large space on the west of the road. In the centre are the remains of Qútab's dwelling-house, now in ruins, but still showing a beautiful carved lintel. Their great extent, however, fully bears out the tradition of the natives, that the saint was as great a man as the temporal king. Some of the apartments are lined with tiles, which yet retain their enamel of various bright colours. South of the house is an irregular quadrangle, enclosed by a brick wall about 100 yards in diameter. On one side is a square tank, edged with cut stone, and on another a ruinous mosque; while at the south-west corner are the tombs of Qútab himself and his father, Ala-ul-Haq, who was also a saint of very great repute. Dr. Hamilton did not think it proper to examine the tombs closely, as they were draped with a canopy of white cotton cloth. On a small brick building near is an inscription, bearing date A. H. 886 or A. D. 1481. The mosque near the tomb of Qutb-i-Alam bears the date 884 A. H. (1479). Immediately in front of the tomb of Qutb-i-Alam is that of his father, Ala-ul-Haq, who died in 1398. Over the entrance gate and close to the tomb of Qutb-i-Alam is an inscription to some unknown saint, dated 863 A. H.

To the north of the house stands a small mosque, called the Golden, an epithet which may be derived from its sanctity or from its cost. It is surrounded by a brick wall, in the east side of which is a gate faced with hewn granite. The walls of the mosque are of hornblende; but the roof, which consists of ten domes, is made of brick. The fine pulpit is of stone. Inscriptions record that the mosque and gateway were erected in honour of Qútab Sháh in A. H. 990 and 993 or A. D. 1582, 1585. This date is remarkable as being just ten years after the date assigned for the desolation of Gaur. It proves that this mosque, though, like all the other buildings at Pandua, constructed from the fragments of Hindu temples, was not erected in the interval of time when Pandua superseded Gaur as the capital of Bengal, but at a period subsequent to the Mughul conquest of the Afghán dynasty.

Immediately north of this mosque, and on the same side of the street, is another mosque, commonly known as Eklákhi, from having been constructed at a cost of a *lákh* of rupees. Though the materials are chiefly brick, it was, in Dr. Hamilton's opinion, the handsomest building in the place

and is cited by General Cunningham as one of the finest specimens of the Bengali Pathan tomb. It forms a square with a frontage of 80 feet, roofed by one dome, with a small turret at each corner. The walls outwardly have been ornamented with carved tiles, and the dome within has been neatly plastered. It is lighted by three small doors, one in each side, and internally forms an octagon. It is evidently intended as the mausoleum of the three personages whose tombs occupy the middle of the floor. There is no inscription to serve as a guide, but tradition relates that they are the graves of Ghias-ud-dín Azam Shah (1389—96), the third king of the House of Iliyas Shah, and his two sons, but the tomb is also said to be that of Jalaluddin the son of Raja Kans (1414—31).

About two miles beyond the monument of Ghias-ud-dín, if such it be, is the tomb of his father, Sikandar Shah (1358—89), the greatest of the monarchs who made Pandua their capital. The tomb forms a part of the great mosque called Adinah Masjid, which is by far the most celebrated building in this part of India. It stands on the east side of the main street, between the street and a large tank now choked up with weeds. Though partly in ruins, it is yet the most remarkable example which exists of Pathán architecture, and as such has been noticed in Fergusson's *History of Architecture*. Dr. Hamilton has devoted no less than ten pages to a minute description of the building, which would be unintelligible apart from the plans and drawings which were intended to illustrate it. The following account of this elaborate and highly-ornamented structure must therefore be very brief. It is a quadrangular building, consisting chiefly of cloisters, which surround a central area of the same form. It extends nearly 500 feet from north to south, and 300 feet from east to west. According to Fergusson, the ground plan and the dimensions are exactly similar to those of the great mosque at Damascus. The east side, through which the building is entered by an insignificant door, is 500 feet long and 38 feet wide between the walls. This space is subdivided by means of transverse brick walls and stone pillars into no less than 127 squares, each of which is covered by a small dome. The northern and southern sides are constructed on the same pattern, but, being shorter, contain only 39 domes each. The height of all three is about twenty feet, including a broad ornamented cornice; towards the quadrangle they open inwards with arches, which correspond to the squares. On the outside are many small windows, highly decorated with carved tiles disposed in arches. The western side of the building, that which faces towards Mecca, is composed of a central apartment, the mosque proper, and two wings. The mosque is 64 feet from east to west, 32 feet from north to south, and 62 feet in height from the floor to the centre of the dome by which it is covered. It contains the usual niches

on the western wall, towards which the worshippers turned their faces, and a pulpit. These are polished and highly carved. The southern wing is similar in design to the other sides of the building, and contains 90 domes. Its west front, however, is closed by a blank wall, in which are niches corresponding to the fifteen rows of arches which here terminate the cloisters. In this wing the common people worshipped. The northern wing only differs in so far as it contains a raised platform for the royal worshippers. This platform, called the Bádsháh-ka-takht, is supported upon thick columns and elevated about eight feet from the floor. It is 40 feet wide and 80 feet long, and covered by domes of no greater height than those over the rest of the building. The adjacent wall contains four niches and two doors, which are minutely carved and ornamented with passages from the Kurán. These doors, through which is the only entrance to the platform, communicate directly with the chamber in which is the tomb of Sikandar Shah on the same level with the platform. This chamber is 38 feet square, and has been covered by nine domes, of an even height with all the others. The grave is in the centre, composed of brick, and without ornament; but it now (1876) lies empty, having been opened in search of treasure. The outer front of this west side, though rendered irregular by the projection of the tomb, is the most entire portion of the building, and has been the most highly ornamented. It bears an inscription which fixes the date for the erection of the building by Sikandar Shah at A.H. 770 (1368). The stone-work, which reaches 11 feet high, is quite plain. The brick-work surmounting it, which raises the entire height to 23 feet 5 inches, is subdivided into minute portions, and most elaborately carved. The doors and windows on this side, which are of stone, are the parts of the whole which, in the opinion of Dr. Hamilton, have been executed in the best taste. They are of very different styles, having apparently been taken from different Hindu buildings. The carvings of the human figure upon the materials have been carefully obliterated by the Muhammadan mason, but yet traces of them can everywhere be detected on a close inspection. There is no calcareous marble anywhere in the building. The rougher parts are of granite, out of a single block of which some of the pillars supporting the domes are hewn. The more polished parts are made of indurated potstone impregnated with hornblende. The total number of domes is variously given by different authorities, but cannot be much less than 400. It is the great number of small domes which forms the peculiar feature of the Pathán architecture of this period. Other instances of this style are the Juma Musjid at Ahmedabad and the mosque attached to the tomb of the saint Gunj Bakhsh at Sirkej (1451).

The only other ruin of note in Panduah is the Satásgarh or Sixty Towers, which is said to have been the palace of Sikandar Shah It lies about

a mile to the eastward of the main street, opposite the Adinah Mosque, altogether enveloped in the most dense jungle. About half-way are the remains of an earthen rampart which, from the position of the ditch on the western side, was probably a fortification to protect the palace. At the Satásgarh itself little is to be seen beyond a large tank, on the banks of which are numerous small buildings, connected with each other, which have evidently been used as baths. The dimensions of the tank are longest from north to south,—a circumstance which, combined with local tradition, points to the conclusion that it is a Hindu structure. This leads Dr. Hamilton to quote, with apparent approval, the tradition which connects the original foundation of the town with a mythical Pandu Rájá, who gave his name to the place.

Tandan, Tondah, or Tángrá, the capital of Bengal after the decadence of Gaur, was also situated within the present district of Maldah. The history of this city is obscure, and its very site has not been accurately determined. According to Stewart (*History of Bengal*, ed. 1847, p. 95) Sulaimán Sháh Kararání, the last but one of the Afghán kings of Bengal, moved the seat of government to Tándán, A.H. 972 or A.D. 1564, eleven years before the final depopulation of Gaur. Though never a populous city, Tándán seems to have continued a favourite residence for the Mughul governors of Bengal until the middle of the following century. In the year A.D. 1660, the rebel Sujá Sháh, when hard pressed by Mír Jumlá, the general of Aurangzeb, retreated from Rájmahal to Tándán, and restored the fortifications of the latter city. In its neighbourhood was fought the decisive battle in which Sujá Sháh was finally defeated. After this date Tándán is not mentioned in history, for the course of events henceforth drew the Mughul governors towards Dacca. It is certain that Tándán was in the immediate neighbourhood of Gaur, and indeed was originally little more than a new palace or country residence for the king; but no ruins now remain to mark the precise site. It lay to the west of Gaur, beyond the Bhágírathí. Major Rennell states that it was situated on the road leading to Rájmahal, some few miles farther up the Ganges than Gaur; Dr. Buchanan Hamilton places it in *tháná* Káliáchak, to the south-west of the ruins of Gaur, following the survey of Gaur made by Mr. Creighton. Neither the Revenue Surveyor nor the modern maps make any mention of the place. There can be little doubt that when Gaur was rendered defenceless by the great change in the channel of the Ganges, it was found necessary to move the royal residence to the new bank of the river. Hence the origin of Tándán, which was naturally deserted when the seat of government was transferred to the extreme east of Bengal, and perhaps swept away by subsequent changes in the course of the Ganges.

NOTE.

The following list contains the principal buildings in Gaur and Pandua with the date of erection and the name of the builder where this can be ascertained:—

Gaur.

1. The Kotwali Darza, 1456, built by Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (1442–59).
2. The Palace and the Dakhila and Chand Gateways, 1466, built by Ruknuddin Barbak Shah (1459—74).
3. The Tantipara (1475) and Painted Mosques, built by Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah (1474—81).
4. The tomb of Fath Shah, built by himself (1481—86).
5. The *minár* of Firoz Shah, built by himself (1486—89).
6. The tomb of Alauddin Hussain Shah, built by himself (1493—1518).
7. The Lesser Golden Mosque, by Wali Muhammad in the reign of the above.
8. The tomb of Shekh Akhi Sirajuddin Usman (*ob.* 1357), built by Alauddin Hussain Shah in 1510.
9. The Great Golden Mosque (1526) and the Qadum Rasul (1532), built by Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah (1518—32).

Pandua.

10. The tomb of Makhdum Shah Jalal Tabrizi (*ob.* 1244), repaired in 1664, 1673, and 1682.
11. The Adina Mosque with the tomb of Sikandar Shah, built by him, 1368.
12. The tomb of Ala-ul-Huq (*ob.* 1398).
13. The Eklakhi Mosque with tombs of Ghyasuddin Azam Shah and his sons. No date, but probably about 1400.
14. The mosque near Qutb Alam's tomb (*ob.* 1477), built in 1479 in the reign of Yusuf Shah.
15. The Golden Mosque, built in honour of Qutb-i-Alam, 1582 and 1585.

PART IV.

Biographical.

The holy men of Gaur and Pandua.

No account of Gaur and Pandua would be complete without some notice of the saints or *pirs* who flourished there under the Muhammadan kings, and whose tombs still exist and are the objects of veneration to thousands of devotees.

Writing generally of the religious system of the Muhammadans in India, Elphinstone gives the following description of the saints:—

"Distinct from the ministers of religion was a numerous class of monkish devotees called dervishes in Persia, but in India more frequently *fakirs*. This is an excrescence of the Muhammadan system originating in the sanctity of particular persons. At first there were no saints, and the earliest instances of elevation to that character were in the case of martyrs (*shahid*) or of distinguished champions of the faith, who fell in battle. By degrees austere and religious lives led to this sort of canonization, which was conferred by public opinion, and generally on living men. These saints were followed by disciples, who by degrees formed 'orders,' always distinguished by some watchword and some form of initiation, and sometimes by peculiarities of dress or observances. Many of these became early extinct, while others branched out into new 'orders.' Small numbers of *fakirs* lived with their chiefs, and others were drawn together by charitable distributions, etc., but they had no monasteries like the Hindus.

"The most eminent among the saints were not impostors, although their followers might magnify the prophetic character of their predictions and the miraculous effect of their prayers. In later times, however, there was a lower class of *fakirs* who supported their claims to supernatural powers by tricks with magnets, phosphorus, etc., and by legerdemain. Of the higher description, many were treated with the utmost reverence even by kings, and, although professing poverty and abstinence, were accustomed to live in great splendour, or at least to distribute vast sums in charity, and they often acquired such influence as to excite the jealousy of the Government. Several instances occur of men of great sanctity being put to death for real or suspected plots against the State.

"The most flourishing period for these holy men was the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Many saints of those and later

times are still revered, and are the objects of vows and pilgrimages; but the *fakirs*, their followers, though perhaps respected at first, have long lost their influence."

The principal personages of saintly renown in the history of Muhammadan Bengal are the four following, viz.—

(1) Shekh Makhdum Jalaluddin Tabrizi.
(2) Shekh Akhi Sirajuddin Usman.
(3) Shekh Alaulhaq.
(4) Nur Qutb Alam.

The first of these, *Shekh Makhdum Jalaluddin Tabrizi*, was a pupil of Abu Saiad Tabrizi and of the renowned Shekh Shahabuddin Sahrawaddi. He accompanied the latter on his pilgrimages to Mecca, and used to carry on his head a small oven with the hot pots in which his master kept his food. The oven is still shown at the Gaur shrine, and till three generations back it cooked food without fuel. Many miracles are ascribed to him, and when he went to Bengal he began to destroy idols: in fact, his vault occupied the site of an idol temple. He kept a *langarkhana*, where he housed and fed beggars. He died in 1244 (642 A. H.) during the Governorship of Qamaruddin Tamar Khan Kiran (No. 9) and before Mughisuddin came to power. The place of his death is uncertain, and is said to have been Aurangabad; if so, his shrine in Bengal is a mere "jawab" or imitation vault. The endowment of the tomb is rich; the lands lie chiefly at Bohat, near Maimari, in the Burdwan district. There is at Bohat a madrassa and a *sarai*, and the Muhammadan gentry of Bohat have some fine manuscripts, which were exhibited in Calcutta early in 1902.

Shekh Akhi Sirajuddin Usman, the second of the above, came as a boy to Nizamuddin Aulia of Delhi, who handed him over for instruction to Fakhruddin Zarradi. He became very learned, and was called "the Mirror of Hindustan." After the death of Nizam, the Shekh came to Lakhnauti, where, for many years, all the kings were his pupils. He died in 1357 (758 A. H.) just a year before the great Shamsuddin Iliyas Shah, so that he must have been in Gaur during all the troublous times which preceded the severance of the province from the Empire of Delhi. His tomb is at Gaur, and an inscription over the door shows that the doorway was built by the Sultan Alauddin Hossain Shah in 1510 (916 A. D.), or nearly 200 years after the Saint's death.

Shekh Alauddin Alaulhaq, the third of the great saints of Gaur, was a man of wealth, good family, and position. He was a Punjabi, the son of Shekh Asad of Lahore, and one of the spiritual successors of Shekh Akhi Sirajuddin Usman. He was a lineal descendant of Khalidbin Wahid, one

of the generals of Muhammad, and belonged to the same tribe and family as the Prophet—that of the Quraishi Hashimi. He was inordinately arrogant in his youth, and to humiliate him he was obliged to carry cooking pots on his head till he became quite bald. He spent such large sums in feeding his pupils and the poor that the jealousy of the King was aroused, and the saint was banished to Sunargaon, where he redoubled his benefactions, the funds being, it was said, supplied by a divine hand. He died on the 20th March 1398 in the reign of Saif-ud-din Hamzah Shah (No. 32), and is buried at Pandua.

Shekh Nuruddin Nur Qutb Alam was the last of the four great *pirs* of Gaur and Pandua. He was the son and spiritual successor of Ala-ul-Huq. In order to practise the virtue of humility, he at first performed the most menial occupations for his father and his friends. It has already been stated above in the account of Raja Kans how Qutb Alam's influence was sufficiently great—first, to bring on an invasion of Bengal by a Jaunpur army and afterwards to compel the invader to retire; also how he converted to Islam Jetmal, the son of Raja Kans. The persecutions of the Raja after the retreat of the Jaunpur army were directed, not so much against Qutb Alam as against his son, Shekh Anwar, who was put to death because he refused to say where the treasure of his father and grandfather, Ala-ul-Huq, lay hid. Qutb Alam lies buried in Pandua. He died in 1447 (851 A. H.), so that he lived through the reigns of Raja Kans and his family, and saw the house of Iliyas Shah restored in the person of Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah (No. 37).

Another well-known Bengal saint was Shah Jalal, the Conqueror and Patron Saint of Silhat, but what truth there is in the stories of him is so overlaid with fables that it is impossible to separate the two: for instance, his death is put down as having occurred in 591 A. H., and yet he is said to have visited Nizamuddin Aulia of Delhi (see above), who died in 725 A. H.

APPENDICES.

SULTANS OF BENGAL.

A.—Governors under the Emperor of Delhi.

		A. H.	A. D.
*1.	Muhammad Bakhtyar Khilji . . .	599	1202
*2.	Izz-ud-din Shiran	602	1205
*3.	Ala-ud-din Mardan	605	1208
4.	Ghyas-ud-din Iwaz	608	1211
*5.	Nasir-ud-din Mahmud	624	1226
*6.	Ala-ud-din Jani	627	1229
*7.	Saif-ud-din Aibak	627	1229
*8.	Izz-ud-din Tughril Tughan Khan .	631	1233
*9.	Qamar-ud-din Timur Khan Kiran . .	642	1244
10.	Ikhtiyar-ud-din Yazbak (Mughis-ud-din)	644	1246
*11.	Jalal-ud-din Masaud Malik Jani . .	656	1258
*12.	Izz-ud-din Balban	657	1258
*13.	Muhammad Arsalan Tatar Khan . .	659	1260
*14.	Sher Khan	} Uncertain dates.	
*15.	Amin Khan		
*16.	Mughis-ud-din Tughril . . .	677	1278

(House of Balban.)

		A. H.	A. D.
*17.	Nasir-ud din Bughra Khan . . .	681	1282
18.	Rukn-ud-din Kaikaus	691	1291
19.	Shams-ud-din Firoz Shah . . .	702	1302
20.	Shahab-ud-din (Western Bengal) . .	718	1318
21.	Ghiyas-ud-din Bahadur (East Bengal) .	710	1310
	Ditto (all Bengal) .	719	1319
*22.	Nasir-ud-din Ibrahim Shah (Lakhnauti)	723-26	1323-25
	Bahadur Shah (restored)	725-31	1324-50
*23.	Bahram Shah (East Bengal) . .	731-39	1330-38
*24.	Kadar Khan (Lakhnauti) . . .	726-40	1325-39
*25.	Izz-ud-din Azamul Mulk (Satgaon) .	724-40	1323-39

B.—Independent Kings.

		A. H.	A. D.
26.	Fakhr-ud-din Mubarak Shah (East Bengal)	739-50	1338-49
27.	Ikhtiyar-ud-din Ghazi Shah (ditto)	750-53	1349-52
28.	Ala-ud-din Ali Shah (West Bengal) .	740-46	1339-45

(House of Iliyas Shah.)

		A. H.	A. D.
29.	Shams-ud-din Iliyas Shah . . .	740	1339
30.	Sikandar Shah, I	759-92	1358-89
31.	Ghiyas-ud-din Azam Shah rebels . .	772	1370
	Ditto ditto reigns . .	792	1389
32.	Saif-ud-din Hamzah Shah . . .	799	1396
*33.	Shams-ud-din	809	1406

	A. H.	A. D.
(House of Raja Kans.)		
34. Shahab-ud-din Bayazid Shah (with Raja Kans)	812	1409
35. Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Shah	817	1414
*36. Shams-ud-din Ahmed Shah	835	1431
(House of Iliyas Shah restored.)		
37. Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, I	846	1442
38. Rukn-ud-din Barbak Shah	864	1459
39. Shams-ud-din Yusuf Shah	879	1474
*40. Sikandar Shah, II	886	1481
41. Jalal-ud-din Fath Shah	886	1481
(Habshi Kings.)		
*42. Sultan Shahzada Barbak	892	1486
43. Saif-ud-din Firoz Shah	892	1486
*44. Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah, II	895	1489
45. Shams-ud-din Abu Nasr Muzaffar Shah	896	1490
(House of Husain Shah.)		
46. Ala-ud-din Husain Shah	899	1493
47. Nasir-ud-din Nasrat Shah	925	1518
48. Ala-ud-din Firoz Shah	939	1532
49. Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah, III	939	1532
Conquest by Sher Shah Suri	944	1537
(House of Muhammad Sur.)		
50. Shams-ud-din Muhammad Shah Suri	960	1552
51. Bahadur Shah	962	1554
52. Ghiyas-ud-din Jalal Shah	968	1560
*53. Son of Ghiyas-ud-din Jalal Shah—name unknown	971	1563
(House of Suliman Kararani.)		
*54. Suliman Kararani	971	1563
*55. Bayazid Shah, II	980	1572
56. Daud Shah	980	1572
Conquest of Bengal by the Emperor Akbar	984	1576

NOTE.—Of those Sultans marked with an asterisk, no coins are known.

not quite accurate in dates

SULTANS OF DELHI.

Slave Kings.

		A. H.	A. D.
1.	Muizz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam	589	1193
2.	Qutb-ud-din Aibaq	602	1205
3.	Aram Shah	607	1210
4.	Shams-ud-din Altamsh	607	1210
5.	Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah	633	1235
6.	Razia Begam	634	1236
7.	Muizz-ud-din Bahram Shah	637	1239
8.	Ala-ud-din Masaud Shah	639	1241
9.	Nasir-ud-din Mahmud Shah	644	1246
10.	Ghiyas-ud-din Balban	664	1265
11.	Muizz-ud-din Kaiqubad	686	1287

(*House of Khilji.*)

12.	Jalaluddin Firoz Shah	689	1290
13.	Rukn-ud-din Firoz Shah	695	1295
14.	Ala-ud-din Muhammad Shah	695	1295
15.	Shahab-ud-din Umr	715	1315
16.	Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah	716	1316
17.	Nasir-ud-din Khusrau Shah	720	1320

(*House of Tughlaq.*)

18.	Ghiyas-ud din Tughlaq Shah	720	1320
19.	Muhammad-bin Tughlaq	725	1324
20.	Ghiyas-ud-din Mahmud Shah	752	1351
21.	Firoz Shah Tughlaq	752	1351
22.	Ghyas-ud-din Tughlaq Shah, II	790	1388
23.	Abu Bakr Shah	791	1388
24.	Muhammad Tughlaq, II	792	1389
25.	Sikandar Shah	795	1392
26.	Mahmud Shah	795	1392

(*Government of the Saiyyids.*)

27.	Nasrat Shah	797	1395
28.	Daulat Khan Lodi	815	1412
29.	Khizr Khan Saiyyid	817	1414
30.	Mubarak Shah	824	1421
31.	Muhammad Shah-bin Farid Shah	837	1433
32.	Alam Shah	847	1443

(*House of Lodi.*)

33.	Bahlol Lodi	855	1451
34.	Sikandar Lodi	894	1488
35.	Ibrahim Lodi	932	1552

(*House of Timur.*)

		A. H.	A. D.
36.	Babar	932	1525
37.	Humayun	937	1530

(*House of Sur.*)

		A. H.	A. D.
38.	Sher Shah	947	1540
39.	Islam Shah	952	1545
40.	Muhammad Shah	960	1552
41.	Sikandar Shah	962	1554
42.	Ibrahim Shah	962	1554

[*House of Timur* (*restored*).]

		A. H.	A. D.
43.	Humayun	962	1555
	Muhammad Jalal-ud-din Akbar	963	1556

SOME CONTEMPORARY EVENTS IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

A. D.
1189—Richard I goes on Crusade.
1199—Accession of King John.
1215—Magna Charta signed.
1216—Henry III.
1265—De Monfort's first Parliament.
1272—Edward I.
1307—Edward II.
1314—Battle of Bannockburn.
1327—Edward III.
1346—Battle of Cressy.
1356—Battle of Poitiers.
1377—Wyclif opposes the Pope's supremacy.
1397—Richard II.
1399—Henry IV.
1413—Henry V.
1415—Battle of Agincourt.
1431—Execution of Joan of Arc.
1461—Edward IV.
1483—Edward V.
1483—Richard III.
1483—Battle of Bosworth field.
1485—Henry VII.
1509—Henry VIII.
1520—Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1538—Suppression of the Monasteries.
1547—Edward VI.
1553—Mary.
1555—Commencement of the Marian persecutions.
1558—Elizabeth.
1587—Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.
1588—Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1603—James I.

LIST OF THE SIRKARS (DISTRICTS) OF BENGAL IN THE TIME OF AKBAR (1556—1605 A. D.)

A.—Sirkars North and East of the Ganges.

1. *Sirkar Lakhnauti* or *Jannatabad* (66 mahals: revenue Rs. 4,71,174).—This sirkar extended from Colgong along the northern bank of the Ganges and comprised almost the whole of Malda with parts of Bhagalpur and Purneah. The City of Gour was situated in this sirkar.

2. *Sirkar Purneah* (9 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,60,219).—This included the greater portion of Purneah to the west as far as the Mahananda.

3. *Sirkar Tajpur* (29 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,62,096).—This comprised eastern Purneah and western Dinajpur.

4. *Sirkar Panjrah* (21 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,45,081).—This sirkar included the greater part of the Dinajpur district and was named after the Haweli mahal Panjrah to the north-east of the town of Dinajpur.

5. *Sirkar Ghoraghat* (88 mahals: revenue Rs. 2,02,077).—This sirkar included parts of the Dinajpur, Rangpur and Bogra districts, and extended to the Brahmaputra: it was called after the town of Ghoraghat on the Karataya river: being a frontier district, it contained numerous jagir lands granted to Afghan wardens of the marches. It produced a great deal of raw silk.

6. *Sirkar Barbakabad* (38 mahals: revenue Rs. 4,36,288).—This sirkar comprised parts of eastern Malda and Dinajpur and portions of Rajshahi and Bogra: it was called after Barbak Shah (A. D. 1459-74) and was famous for its cloths.

7. *Sirkar Bazuha* (32 mahals: revenue Rs. 9,87,921).—This was the largest of all the sirkars and extended from the preceding across the Brahmaputra into Silhat, comprising portions of Rajshahi, Bogra, Pabna, Mymensingh, and reaching to the south a little beyond the town of Dacca.

8. *Sirkar Silhat* (8 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,67,032).—This lay to the east of the preceding, mostly across the Surma river: it was not conquered by the Muhammadans till the end of the 14th century, and was exposed to continued invasions from Kamrup and Assam: like Kamrup, this country was famous for its wizards and witches.

9. *Sirkar Sunargaon* (52 mahals: revenue Rs. 2,58,283).—This lay on both sides of the Megna and the Brahmaputra, and contained portions of western Tippera, Bhabua and Noakhali: it was subjected to constant attacks by the Rajas of Tippera and Arakan.

10. *Sirkar Chatgaon* (*Chittagong*) (7 mahals: revenue Rs. 2,85,607).—This was never properly annexed before the reign of Aurangzeb (A. D. 1658—1707).

B.—SIRKARS IN THE DELTA OF THE GANGES.

11. *Sirkar Satgaon* (53 mahals: revenue Rs. 4,18,118).—This was mainly composed of the district of the 24-Parganas (including mahal Kalkatta): it included western Nadia, south-western Murshidabad, and extended as far south as Diamond Harbour.

12. *Sirkar Mahamdabad* (88 mahals: revenue Rs. 2,90,256)—Comprised northern Nadia, northern Jessore, and western Faridpur.

13. *Sirkar Khalifatabad* (35 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,35,053)—Comprised southern Jessore and western Backergunge. The largest mahal in this sirkar was Jessore, and two other mahals in this sirkar were given during the reign of Akbar to Bhabeshwar Rai, ancestor of the present Rajas of Jessore.

14. *Sirkar Fathabad* (3 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,99,239)—Included the whole of Faridpur, part of Jessore, southern Backergunge, parts of Dacca, and all the islands at the mouth of the Megna.

15. *Sirkar Bakla* or *Ismailpur* (4 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,78,756)—Lay to the north-east of the preceding and comprised portions of the Backergunge and Dacca districts.

C.—SIRKARS SOUTH OF THE GANGES AND WEST OF THE BHAGIRATHI (HOOGHLY).

16. *Sirkar Audambar or Tandah* (52 mahals: revenue Rs. 5,97,570)—Comprised the greater portion of the Murshidabad district with parts of Birbhum: Tandah was apparently Murshidabad: it was the capital of Bengal for a while, but Raja Man Singh (the re-builder of Rhotas Palace and Governor of Bengal, A. D. 1588—1604) made Rajmahal his capital. Prince Shuja, brother of the Emperor Aurangzeb, returned to Tandah, which had been renamed Makhsusabad. It was finally named Murshidabad by Nawab Jafar Murshid Quli Khan (A. D. 1700--25).

17. *Sirkar Sharifabad* (26 mahals: revenue Rs. 5,62,218)—Lay to the south of the preceding, and included part of Birbhum and the greater part of Burdwan with the town of Burdwan itself.

18. *Sirkar Sulaimanabad* (31 mahals: revenue Rs. 4,40,749)—Afterwards called Salimabad by Akbar in honour of his son Jahangir: this comprised the north of the Hooghly district and parts of Nadia and Burdwan.

19. *Sirkar Madaran* (16 mahals: revenue Rs. 2,35,085)—Extended in a semi-circle from Western Birbhum along the Damudar to Mandalghat at the mouth of the Rupnarayan river.

INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO THE SULTANS OF BENGAL.*

A.—Governors under the Emperor of Delhi.

No.			A. D.
8.	Izzuddin Tughril Tughan Khan .	631-42 A. H.	1233-44
	Behar (Patna), 640 A. H.		
13.	Muhammad Arsalan Tatar Khan .	659 A. H.	1260
	Behar, 663 A. H.		
18.	Ruknuddin Kai Kaus . . .	691-702 A. H.	1291-1302
	Gangarampur (Dinajpur), 697 A. H.		
	Kagol (Patna), 697 A. H.		
19.	Shamsuddin Firuz Shah . . .	702-18 A. H.	1302-18
	Behar, 709, 713, 715 A. H.		

B.—Independent Sultans.

30.	Sikandar Shah	759-92 A. H.	1358-89
	Hazrat Panduah (Adina mosque), 770 A. H.		
37.	Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah . .	846-64 A. H.	1442-59
	Satgaon, 861 A. H.		
	Dacca, 863 A. H.		
	Hazrat Panduah (Chhota Dargah), 863 A. H.		
38.	Ruknuddin Barbak Shah . .	864-79 A. H.	1459-74
	Tribeni (Hooghly).		
	Dinajpur, 865 A. H.		
	Mahiganj, 865-66 A. H.		
39.	Shamsuddin Yusuf Shah . . .	879-86 A. H.	1474-81
	Panduah (two), 882 A. H.		
	Hazrat Panduah, 884-85 A. H.		
	Gaur, 885 A. H.		
	Dacca, 885 A. H.		
	Silhat. (No date.)		

* This list is admittedly incomplete.

No.			A. D.
41.	Jalaluddin Fath Shah . . .	886-92 A. H.	1481-86

Bandar near Dacca, 886 A. H.
Dhamrai, 887 A. H.
Bikrampur (Dacca), 888 A. H.
Sunnargaon, 889 A. H.
Satgaon, 892 A. H.

44.	Nasiruddin Mahmud Shah, II .	895-96 A. H.	1489-90

Gaur, 896 A. H.

45.	Shamsuddin Muzaffar Shah . .	896-99 A. H.	1490-93

Gangarampur, 896 A. H.
Hazrat Panduah, 898 A. H.

46.	Alauddin Hussain Shah . .	899-925 A. H.	1493-1518

Monghyr, 903 A. H.
Machain (Ballipur near Dacca), 907 A. H.
Bonhara (Behar), 908 A. H.
Cherand (Behar), 909 A. H.
Silhat, 911 A. H.
Maldah, 911 A. H.
Sunnargaon, 911, 919, 925 A. H.
Hazrat Panduah, 915 A. H.
Gaur, 916 (two), 918, 925 A. H.
Birbhum, 922 A. H.
Dhamrai, 922 A. H.

47.	Nasiruddin Nasrat Shah . .	925-39 A. H.	1518-32

Sunnargaon, 929 A. H.
Mangalkot, 930 A. H.
Sikandarpur (Azamgarh), 933 A. H.
Satgaon, 936 A. H.
Gaur, 937 A. H.

50.	Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah Suri .	960-62 A. H.	1552-54

Sherpur, Dinajpur, 960 A. H.

51.	Bahadur Shah	962-68 A. H.	1554-60

Rajmahal, 964 A. H.

54.	Suliman Kararani . . .	971-80 A. H.	1563-72

Sunargaon, 976 A. H.
Bihar, 977 A. H.